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ESSAYS

ON

ATHEDRALS.

BY VARIOUS WRITERS.

EDITED BY THE VERY REV.

J. S. HOWSON, D.D., DEAN OF CHESTER.

"Damnant quod non intelligunt."

14:512

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INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

I AM sure that in being the instrument of bringing these Essays together, I am rendering a greater service to the public, than if I were to publish in detail any thoughts of my own concerning Cathedrals. The names of the writers in this volume are a guarantee for the value of what they have written; and the mere fact that they have complied with the request which I ventured to lay before them, shows that the subject is felt, by men whose judgment is worthy of great respect, to be of considerable importance. It is requisite, at the same time, to add that each writer in this book is absolutely and separately responsible for that which appears with his signature, and that the publication of the book represents no combined plan, except so far as any of the separate authors may have chosen to confer with one another.

For myself, a short experience of about four years in a Cathedral city has sufficed to convince me of the immense opportunities possessed by the Cathedral system, if it were fully developed, to do useful work for the Church and the Country. Nothing seems to me to be more adapted, with due modifications, to meet some of the urgent wants of our times, to bring new life out of old forms, and to animate and consolidate various existing agencies for religious good. What some of those modifications ought to be, is suggested in the following pages. The subject is there presented in various points of view. But it is hoped that those who read the volume will be convinced that to obliterate the Cathedral system, simply because it is not at

present so useful as it might be, would be an act of ecclesiastical and political folly. What the system really wants, in order to be more useful, is greater strength and better opportunities of free expansion.

Yet it cannot be denied that in many quarters there is cold friendship, in some quarters even hostility, towards Cathedrals; and there is every probability that a close and public inquiry will soon be instituted into their existing condition. Hence the need of diffusing well-considered information on the subject. By some, who have influence in the Legislature, the subject is evidently viewed far too carelessly. Of many, in all parts of the country, who express free opinions on the question, it is no impertinence to say that their knowledge is imperfect. Others again, feeling the many pressing needs of the Church, have acquired the habit of looking upon Cathedral Foundations as a source of wealth, from which aid may possibly be obtained for the founding of additional Bishoprics or the further augmentation of scantily-endowed Benefices. This view proceeds on the assumption that Cathedrals are able to do no specific service, and have no distinctive functions, of their own. And if the ideal machinery of the Church is indeed complete, with Bishops and Parochial Clergy, and nothing besides, it is difficult to see how the existence of the Cathedral system can be defended.

Now it must be admitted that recent legislation has seemed to proceed on some such view as that which has just been expressed, viz., that if the Church is adequately provided with Bishops and Parish Clergymen, it needs no other equipment. Hence Cathedral establishments, presumed to be simply venerable relics of the past, and decorous places of clerical leisure, have been reduced to scanty proportions, without the expectation that they would be productive of any energetic work. And in connection with this fact—as indeed was inevitable, when such a starting-point was given—it must be acknowledged that, in past years, Cathedral patronage was too often exercised simply with regard to family interest, or political party, or

personal preference. And of course it follows that such exercise of patronage has, in turn, fostered and encouraged the opinions from which it sprang.

Again, the recent course of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in applying, for the most part, Cathedral Endowments to the augmentation of Parochial Benefices, has tended to the same result. No blame is here cast upon the Commissioners. Public opinion being what it was, the plan they have followed was perhaps, for the time, unavoidable.* If the Episcopal office and the Parochial office together cover the whole clerical ground, no place is left for Cathedrals. Nothing more can be expected than that they should be treated with suitable respect for the past, and an economical regard to the pressing exigencies of the time. But if Cathedral Foundations should again be viewed as properly having an organic and very active connection with all the Church-life of the day, and as having un-worked capabilities in regard to theological study, general education,† and other useful service, the case is entirely altered. If public opinion changes, a response to that change may be expected in high quarters: and one purpose of this volume is to show that public opinion, in these respects, is beginning to change, and also to promote that change still further.

If it can be fairly argued, and clearly pointed out, that Cathedral Foundations are adapted to play a characteristic and a very useful part of their own, in harmony with the history of the past, and in efficient and easy association with all that belongs to the present,—that, in fact, the office of the Cathe-

* This, too, I believe, is presumed to be the intention of the law under which the "Common Fund" is at present administered.

† It seems to have been almost overlooked till lately, that in Cathedrals of the New Foundation one essential part of their functions related to general education on a religious basis. And now we are feeling on all sides the want of precisely such an education as Cathedral Schools are adapted to supply. Is it not evident that the very same argument which claimed help from the Ecclesiastical Commission for increased efficiency in Parochial Work, claims it now for increased efficiency in the work of Christian Education? Is not the argument even stronger, inasmuch as the educating of the young is one of the express purposes for which Cathedral endowments were originally given?

dral, properly understood, is different in kind from that of any other part of the Church system, and yet helpful to all other parts,—then the whole complexion of the subject is altered. And, certainly, if we go back to the original theory of the Cathedral system, it is found to represent, not anything like dignified and serene isolation from general ecclesiastical interests, but rather the diffusiveness of the full activity of busy Church work. Here was intended to be the warm and vigorous centre of the spiritual life of the Diocese; here the bond of union among the various Diocesan arrangements for the general good; here the helpers and advisers of the Bishop.

And is not the realization of such a theory precisely that of which we most stand in need in the present crisis? The Parochial life of the country is honoured for its activity. The diligent and efficient labours of the Bishops command universal respect. But between the Episcopate and the Parochial Clergy there is no intermediate machinery to give coherence to the whole.* The Bishop is too much of a mere inspector: the Parish Priests too much like a mere aggregate of independent ministers. A strong and continuous Diocesan organization would be a benefit to both.

And are not various circumstances preparing the way for the acceptance of this thought? The strengthening and maturing of the Ruri-Decanal system, the convening of Diocesan Synods of Clergy, and Diocesan Conferences of Clergy and Laity, all point in this direction. Is it not most evident that the Cathedral Foundation in each Diocese, the old centre of missionary work and conciliary deliberation, is the true centre still of the organization which is wanted? Would it not be the utmost folly for the Church of England, under present circumstances, to obliterate this part of its historical connection with the past, and to pull

* The matter is viewed here chiefly on the side of the help that could be given by a thoroughly organized Capitular system. But much stress may also be justly laid on the advantage of having, in a Church like ours, some ecclesiastical corporations possessing a certain amount of independence and privilege.

down what exists, in order that something new may be built up to serve the very purpose for which that old structure was intended, and which it is still adapted to serve? *

And are there not special indications in the present, that we shall soon require a new expansion of the Cathedral system, in harmony with its old traditions? I need only refer to that comparative secularization of the Universities, which is beginning to give a fresh significance to Theological Colleges, and to the recent Elementary Education Act, which necessitates careful provision for the inspection, on a Diocesan basis, of religious knowledge in Primary Schools. All such things are tending to produce a clear apprehension of that which has been too long obscured, and which, at the same time, is emphatically a distinctive feature of the Church of England, namely, *the idea of the Diocese.*† ^

Two objections, however, to entertaining any hopeful view of the future usefulness of the Cathedral system may very naturally occur to the readers of this volume. First, it may be said that the existence of serious abuses in the past history of the system are here very freely acknowledged, and that we have

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* This seems to be the course recommended by a writer for whom I have the most sincere respect, the Rev. J. C. Ryle, in some vigorous papers on "Church Reform" (Hunt & Co., 1870). If I were not well aware of Mr. Ryle's thorough honesty, I should accuse him of want of candour in his description of the present character of Cathedrals and their officers. On this, however, I do not dwell. When injustice is not intended, it is easily forgiven. The point to which I refer is this, that Mr. Ryle strongly urges the importance to the Bishop of a Diocesan Council, and yet would reduce the institution which was framed with this end in view to a mere provision for religious services conducted on an approved method by Chaplains under the eye of the Bishop.

† These convictions, strongly felt during the last few years, have probably been further strengthened by a recent visit to America, during which I have had the opportunity of studying the organization and active work of our Sister Church in the United States. I was impressed there by the emphasis with which the idea of the Diocese is marked, and by the systematic way in which this idea is developed into practice. Our American brethren act, indeed, on a method of their own. At the close of the Revolutionary war they had no ancient local traditions: they had no Diocesan machinery in readiness: they were obliged to build up a system in harmony with their existing circumstances. But they have a very forcible and methodical Diocesan organization. I was present, for instance, in Western Pennsylvania, during the last steps of the formation of a new Diocese; and it was instructive to observe that a Diocesan Council of Clergy and Laity was fully formed, before the appointment of the Bishop.

no guarantee against the recurrence of similar abuses in the future. Next, it may be urged that by the writers of these Essays themselves considerable discrepancy of view is exhibited as to the particular amendments in the Cathedral system which they recommend. If there is no agreement among our advisers, it may be thought useless to attempt any improvement.

As to the first of these objections, it may be answered that no human system, certainly no ecclesiastical system, has ever been exempt from the possibility of abuses, and that no absolute security can in any case be given against abuses in the future. But a clear perception of evils in the past furnishes our best hope of immediate improvement in the present, and is the best precaution for time to come. Moreover, the other parts of our Church system are by no means able to exhibit a history free from defects. It would be easy to fill a large book with anecdotes of abuses connected with the Episcopal office and with the working or neglect of our Parishes. Now, in regard to both these sections of Church work there has been, as we all thankfully and joyfully acknowledge, a vast improvement, both of public opinion and of practice, with a firm basis for very sanguine hope of the future. If two parts of our ecclesiastical system have exhibited this power of recovery, why may not others?

As to the other ground of objection, arising from variety of views in the present volume, such variety is inevitable among those who write without careful concert on a very large subject, which touches our Church-life at every point. One excellence of the Cathedral system is that it has *many sides*. Those who have contributed to this volume, while they are at one in setting a high value on Cathedrals, all have their natural predilections and their special kinds of experience. Some will, by preference, view these institutions on the devotional side, some on the educational side, some will urge their fitness for training our future clergy, some will lay most stress on their capability for useful work of various kinds. One thought however, will be found to run, as a consistent thread, through

the whole of this series of Essays, namely, that our Cathedral Chapters ought to become *Diocesan Chapters*, that the ancient and original principle of these foundations ought once more to be brought to bear upon modern wants, that they should again give active help to the Bishop and to the Clergy and Laity of each Diocese, that they should be linked on to, and give force and method to, the many religious agencies which are now causing much confusion and much waste of strength.

How this is to be accomplished is the serious question before us. This, however, must be carefully remembered, that the end is to be attained, not by one stereotyped method, but by several methods. Each Diocese and each Cathedral has its own distinctive character. There is therefore great advantage, at the present stage of discussion, in variety of suggestion. Much may be done without legislation, if there is a healthy state of public opinion on the subject; much helpful service, distinctly emanating from our Cathedrals, is now in progress; and a healthy state of public opinion is an essential pre-requisite for safe legislation. Probably the most prudent course of procedure would be the appointment of an Executive Commission to co-operate with Cathedral Chapters in revising their statutes and adapting themselves to the local circumstances which surround them, all that is done being based upon "that Report of the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852, which has been most discreditably forgotten, though invaluable as a repertory of well-digested information on the whole range of this subject."*

J. S. H.

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* I am re-writing some words which were printed in the 'Quarterly Review' for Jan. 7, 1869; and I may take the liberty of adding what was written in the same context. "The significance and capabilities of our Cathedrals constitute one of the questions most likely to come soon again very prominently before public attention; and it is satisfactory to know that these institutions are far better able to stand a searching test than formerly. In fact, our Cathedrals, though some reforms are required in them, are rapidly becoming the most popular parts of the system of the Church of England. Thus, if renewed public discussion on the subject arises, some of the foolish things which used to be said concerning it will probably not be said again" (pp. 245, 246).

ESSAY I.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A DEAN.

By the BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Comparison of Ely and Carlisle Cathedrals.

General conception of a Cathedral, as it frequently is, and as it ought to be.

View given by the late Mr. Dickens.

The *Picnic* view.

The *Sight-seeing* view.

The *Antiquarian* view.

The view which represents Cathedrals as unsuited to Reformed worship.

Reference to the History of Ely Cathedral.

Ely in the Middle Ages illustrated by Einsiedlen.

The foundation of the true conception of a Cathedral the feeling of *worship*.

Principal Features of a Cathedral:—

1. Maintenance of a daily service upon a grand scale: Daily service stopped by Cromwell in Ely Cathedral; Dean Goulburn on daily service; duties of members of the Cathedral body; style of music; Cathedral Schools of Church Music.
2. The Cathedral regarded as a large church: Necessity of vigilance on the part of Cathedral authorities; constant growth of the beauty of a Cathedral; the Virger question.
3. The application of the Cathedral to special Diocesan occasions: Ordinations; Church Choral Festivals; Diocesan Conferences.
4. Cathedrals used for large congregations: Illustration from Ely; this not to be regarded as the principal use of Cathedrals.
5. Cathedrals places of contemplation and theological study: The members of the Cathedral bodies must devote themselves to Diocesan work.
6. Cathedral Statutes: Need of modification to suit changed circumstances.

Conclusion.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A DEAN.

"Reservamus Nobis et Successoribus nostris plenam potestatem et authoritatem Statuta mutandi, alterandi, et (si videbitur) etiam nova condendi."

Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Carliolensis.
(*Henr. VIII.*)

Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis.
(*Car. II.*)

It has been my lot to be officially connected with two cathedrals, which in point of grandeur stand almost at the extremes of the English list. Ely in any competitive examination would undoubtedly secure one of the highest places: its magnitude, especially its length, the extreme beauty of its details, the combination of first-rate specimens of the three best schools of English Architecture, the peculiarity of the central octagon with its marvellous wooden lantern, the wonders of the Lady Chapel, and the very elaborate manner in which it has been restored and beautified during the past thirty years,—these and other circumstances combine to give Ely the high place which general opinion assigns to it. For myself, as having watched this beautiful church for more than ten years, having worshipped in it by day and "visited it by the pale moonlight," having worked for it and begged for it, having almost lived in it, and watched with tender anxiety every crack in its ancient walls, I must confess to a love for it, which it is difficult to describe or measure, and which will scarcely be appreciated by any save those who have had a like experience with myself.

Perhaps it is only fair that having been brought for so many years into loving connection with Ely, I should be compelled to transfer (as far as may be) my affections to Carlisle. I have spoken of this cathedral as standing almost at the other end of the list from that which is occupied by Ely; yet I would by

no means speak disrespectfully of Carlisle Cathedral. The choir is a noble work, and the east window (so far as I know) without a peer in the whole kingdom. Carlisle is an unfortunate cathedral, rather than a poor one; if the whole building were completed in accordance with the eastern portion, if we could fancy a nave of twelve bays built in the architecture of the choir, and a lofty spire thrown up from a grand central tower, few cathedrals would be finer; but unhappily the apparent intention of rebuilding the whole structure, if it was ever entertained, was never carried out; and to make bad worse, the old Norman nave was destroyed in the Civil Wars with the exception of a small portion, and the result is that we have an incomplete and inconsistent building, which tempts one to speculate whether the zeal and the money which are now supplying a nave at Bristol will ever come so far north as Carlisle, and do a similar work there.

Having thus had some Cathedral experience, it has seemed to me possible that I might make a useful contribution towards the general purpose of the volume in which this essay appears, by putting down such thoughts as my experience suggests, and recording some of the recollections of a Dean.

But I must introduce these recollections by saying something concerning the general conception of a Cathedral as it frequently is, and as it ought to be.

It so happens that the last, and alas! the unfinished, work of Charles Dickens had for its scene a Cathedral and a Cathedral town. It is very interesting to notice what was the view suggested by a cathedral to so very acute an observer, and so graphic a recorder of his observations. I do not know whether *Cloisterham* is intended to represent any cathedral town in particular, or whether it is a mere fancy portrait; but referring to my own recollections, I should be disposed to speak of it as a caricature, or perhaps rather as a very bad likeness. Those who have read the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* will remember that the Cathedral of Cloisterham was a dark, cold, cavernous kind of place, in which a very intense scamp, by name Jasper, who is a confirmed opium smoker and gifted with a very fine voice and much musical power, holds some kind of office which makes him "leader of the choir;" the cathedral service seems to reduce itself very much to a display of Mr. Jasper's power; the choir

have "sullied white robes," and they get them on "in a hurry;" when "the procession have scuttled into their places," the sacristan "locks the iron-barred gates that divide the sanctuary from the chancel" (?), and then "the intoned words, *When the wicked man*, rise among groins of arches and beams of roof, awakening muttered thunder." So much for the scene above-ground; below there are vaults, and there is a curious master mason, named Durdles, who is a character in his way (his way is not a very good one), and who appears to spend much of his time in hunting for old monks, whose bodies are supposed to be buried under pillars and in other unlikely places below the floor of Cloisterham Cathedral. And so on. Altogether the picture of Cloisterham Cathedral and its services and its officers is most uncomfortable; and speaking as a quondam Dean, I should be disposed to say that had I been Dean of Cloisterham, Jasper and Durdles would have been alike impossible.

Nevertheless I do not at all doubt but that many readers of the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* will regard the picture of Cloisterham as very successful, and as a very fair portrait. And although I would affirm most emphatically that to me who have lived in a cathedral more than ten years, the picture seems no portrait at all, still I would grant that we have no right to be altogether surprised at the representation which Mr. Dickens has left as a legacy to all Cathedral bodies. Doubtless there has been much neglect; doubtless there has been much forgetfulness of the solemnity of worship; doubtless the cathedral service has been too often performed in a perfunctory style, and regarded as a matter which only concerns the Dean, the Canon in Residence, the Minor Canons, and the Choir, and perhaps not all of these very much; doubtless also when the cathedral system has been let down, it is hard to raise it up again, and still harder to make writers of fiction who wish to please the public distinguish between the dignified ideal and the miserable degraded reality; therefore I think we must not complain of such uncomfortable pictures as that to which I have referred, but we must look upon them as warnings and as lessons for future improvement.

For in truth the Cloisterham view of Cathedrals is only one of a class, and if it be a false view it by no means stands alone.

Thus there is what may be called the *Picnic* view. I have

seen it stated, and perhaps in a certain sense it may be true, that the notions formed by nine-tenths of those who have any notions at all on the subject of Cathedrals are formed on the basis of some pleasure excursion made to visit a cathedral which happens to be within reach. Thousands have visited a cathedral in this way, and have pleasant recollections of the venerable old building as forming the pivot of the excitement and innocent amusement of a friendly gathering upon some bright May day. Nor is there any harm in the mere fact of a cathedral being thus made the occasion of a picnic party; but when it is argued that the large majority of persons who visit cathedrals have no higher or better view, one feels disposed to be a little astonished and perhaps somewhat sad.

Nor is there much to choose between the view just described and what may be called the *Sight-seeing* view of Cathedrals. In this aspect the Cathedral is a museum of curiosities, and the virger is the showman; you pay your shilling as you may pay it at Madame Tussaud's, and you see what you do see: tombs, statues, painted windows, the bishop's throne, and what not. It is a difficult thing to know how to deal with this sight-seeing propensity: it is not only innocent, it is laudable; the inspection of a cathedral gives the sensation of wonder to the most stupid, of pleasure to all, to some it gives instruction; the sight-seeing propensity cannot be abolished, and ought not to be abolished. What can be done and ought to be done, is to bring out prominently other and better views of the meaning of cathedrals, and so to reduce mere sight-seeing to a minimum.

Again, some persons regard cathedrals almost entirely from the *Antiquarian* side. It is inevitable that this should be so: our Cathedrals are beyond all question amongst the most interesting records of an age gone by; much more so than our castles and our parish churches, for instance. Castles are either in ruins, or else they have been so modernized that their old features are scarcely discernible; and our parish churches, though as old as the Cathedrals, do not, like them, give evidence of a state of society long passed away. We build parish churches day by day and year by year, and many of those built in these days may compare in size and beauty and propriety with those built in the thirteenth or fourteenth century; but we never (in England at least) build a cathedral,

and if we did no one would venture to design a structure such as those which the mediæval architects have left to us; nor is there any probability that any conjunction of circumstances will in future make such a thing possible. Who would dream of going into a country like the Isle of Ely, and there choosing a rising ground and depositing upon it a building such as that which has dominated the Fen country since the time of the Conquest? We may as well expect another Iliad from a Greek poet as another Cathedral from an English architect. It is no wonder that the antiquarian view of cathedrals should be a very attractive one; it is inconceivable that it should be otherwise to educated minds; but it must be confessed that sometimes the dust of antiquity seems to obscure the vision of those who examine cathedrals and talk about their uses in the nineteenth century.

I may add that the interest of the antiquarian view of Cathedrals is increased by the monastic remains which surround many of them: in one cathedral you find a well-preserved specimen of the cloister in which the old worshippers chiefly spent their lives, with its lavatory and its scriptorium; in another the dormitory where the monks slept; in another the refectory where they dined; in another the hospital where they retired when sick or infirm; in another the home barn; and so forth. Putting all the indications together, you may make out with almost complete exactness the arrangements of those wonderful mediæval clerical establishments, of which the great church was the most conspicuous feature, both architecturally and spiritually.

I conceive that it is by contemplating Cathedrals from this antiquarian side, and contemplating them imperfectly, that another view has been taken of their uses and their adaptability to modern requirements, which is very hopeless, but, as I believe, happily very false. It has been said that the Cathedrals are not adapted to the Anglican service, that they require, in order to use them properly, grand processions and the like, and that Protestant worship rattles in them like dry bones in a coffin. Now it is no doubt true that the service which is used in our cathedrals is different from that which was used in them five centuries back, though not so entirely different as some persons imagine when they talk of Protestant worship; but it is not true

that the unreformed worship required a large building, or that the reformed worship rattles like dry bones in anything larger than a parish church. For the old worshippers had abundance of smaller churches, which we thankfully use and imitate in the present day, and a large building was by no means a necessity and not always a convenience; but in those churches which were intended to be Cathedrals of Dioceses, or which were to be places of worship for large religious houses, the mediæval architects seem to have considered how they could devote the most glorious edifice possible to the service of Almighty God. I know that there was much ignorance mixed up with the devotion and not a little superstition; still it was fundamentally the love of God that animated the minds of the men who have left these monuments behind them; and it is not difficult to show that the altered circumstances of our own days do not render these great monuments useless, but only require us to vary the uses according to conditions prescribed by the circumstances in the midst of which we live.

Let us look to Ely by way of illustration. The Cathedral raises its head in the present day over a very small city, and the first thing which would strike many visitors would be the want of proportion between the city and the church. What an amazing amount of space available and yet useless! Nevertheless the city of Ely is probably larger now than it ever was; and moreover there is a parish church just under the shadow of the cathedral tower, and there used to be another abutting upon the cathedral, which was removed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Lady Chapel was permitted to be used as a parish church. Hence the disparity between the church and the city which strikes a visitor in our own days must have been much greater in the middle ages than it is now. But the fact is that the question of the size of the place, in which a large monastic or cathedral church was built, never presented itself to the minds of architects in the mediæval days: they approached the subject from quite a different side.

St. Etheldreda founded her monastery at Ely in the seventh century. There was then no town or village on the spot, but the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Cratendune seem to have been attracted by the new religious house and to have moved their habitations so as to congregate round it. Thus the

population came to the church, not the church to the population. The Monastery of St. Etheldreda, which contained both nuns and monks (I suppose the latter were chiefly lay brethren, who laboured for the support of the institution), continued to flourish under herself and several successive abbesses, till it was utterly destroyed by the Danes, who found the Ouse a very practicable high road for their depredations, and remained in its desolation for about a century. Then it was re-established as a convent of Benedictine monks, and so continued till after the Conquest. In the days of King Henry I. the Abbot was constituted a Bishop and the see of Ely carved out of the then enormous see of Lincoln, the convent existing on a diminished scale under the government of a Prior; and so things went on till the time of Henry VIII., when the convent was suppressed and the Chapter founded, the last Prior becoming the first Dean.

During all this time the church, which was at first only monastic and then became a cathedral, waxed greater and more beautiful. It is impossible to say what kind of church was originally built by St. Etheldreda, but I should suppose it was chiefly of wood; not a very permanent structure, probably not a very large one, it would be very digestible food for the fire of the merciless Danes. Of this church of course we have no trace; neither have we any trace of the Saxon edifice which took its place, and which was probably more durable; this we may suppose to have been removed not by accident nor by mischief, but by design, for the purpose of making room for the more stately structure which was suitable to the grander and more refined conceptions of the Norman abbots. Abbot Simeon, who was appointed in 1081, commenced the new church, which was not completed when the Abbots became Bishops and the Minster a Cathedral. Hardly was the Norman work finished than Bishop Northwold pulled down the eastern end of the church and built the six beautiful bays which form the Presbytery, as it has been called. In the next century the central Norman tower fell, and the result was the erection of the central octagon with its lantern roof and the three exquisite bays of decorated (or second pointed) architecture. And so we see the church brought into its present condition, constantly changed, constantly enlarged, constantly beautified and adorned; and all the while there was only a small population round about; at no previous time so

many as at present. Of course there were occasions when the church was not at all too large, as is the case now.* The shrine of St. Etheldreda and those of her sisters were favourite places of devotion, and the pilgrimage to the church of Ely was on a very large scale: the six bays added to the church by Bishop Northwold were in fact rendered necessary by the concourse of pilgrims: and no doubt the good monks thought it was for the honour of God, as much as for the profit of the house, that there should be no want of accommodation for pilgrims on the great Feast-days. At such times pious people would flock in from many a mile round, and all the numerous hostelries of the town would be crowded at night and the church by day. In general the little city of Ely would be as quiet as it is now.

Any one who would like to realise what Ely was in the Middle Ages, cannot do better than visit the great monastery and the small town of Einsiedlen in Switzerland, Canton Schwytz. This monastery represents the hermitage of St. Meinrad, who flourished in the ninth century, and whose wonderful life and not less wonderful death may be read in a small volume, the publication and sale of which is one of the chief trades of the place. St. Meinrad and St. Etheldreda were in one respect very differently circumstanced. The lady was a great heiress who gave her whole property to found a religious house, and her own tomb and shrine became the principal attractions of her foundation. St. Meinrad was as poor as poor could be, a simple hermit, living by himself in a wilderness; nevertheless his great reputed sanctity and a certain miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin have stood in place of worldly wealth, and the monastery which has taken the place of his poor hermitage is even now on a scale which betokens large possessions.† Few things can be more interesting than a visit to Einsiedlen. When I visited the place some years ago, I approached it from the side of Schwytz,

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* The congregations on occasion of choral festivals have several times been estimated at four thousand.

† St. Meinrad was murdered in his hermitage by two brigands, Jan. 21, 861. The murderers, after the accomplishment of their wicked deed, were pursued by two pet ravens, companions and friends of the saint, which fluttered wildly round the heads of the men and tried to peck out their eyes. Thus the murder became known: the murderers were tried at Zurich, and being condemned were broken upon the wheel, burnt, and their ashes thrown into the Limmat. The two ravens, after the execution was accomplished, flew back again to the forest: the monastery still bears them on its escutcheon.

engaging a carriage at that place to convey my companion and myself. The time of our visit did not coincide with that of one of the great pilgrimages; consequently we found the little town as quiet as could be, scarcely any inmates at the large hotel besides ourselves, and only a few country visitors in the whole place, bent upon devotional purposes. Almost every house, however, is a lodging-house, and almost every shop is an emporium of "articles of piety," and in front of the church are rows of booths in which the same trade is carried on. It was obvious at once that here, as at Ely, the town existed for the church, and not the church for the town; and it was obvious also that at certain times the town wore a very different aspect from that which belonged to it during our visit, and that there was the power of entertaining an immense crowd of visitors, when a great solemnity should have the effect of calling a crowd together. In looking at the monastery and church and town of Einsiedlen, I felt that I could see as nearly as possible the condition of my own Ely five hundred years ago.

It will not be supposed that I wished the days of pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Etheldreda back again when I saw the unreformed condition of the church of St. Meinrad; but I felt that the sight of such a place as Einsiedlen might be very profitable, as indicating the feeling and spirit which led to the building of our great monastic churches. I say here advisedly "great monastic churches," because in reality it was as monastic churches and not as cathedrals that many of our present cathedrals were erected. Ely was not a bishoprick till the great Norman church was nearly finished: Peterborough and Gloucester not till the time of the Reformation: Westminster Abbey church is not a cathedral even in our own times. There was therefore in the minds of those who built our great churches some feeling different from that of making the cathedral, or mother church of the diocese, the grandest and noblest church within the limits of the diocese—some feeling also different from that of wishing to accommodate large populations; and if we ask what that feeling was, I think it may be said to have been that of *worship*. The grand church was a symbol of worship upon a grand scale; it was thought a good thing in itself that, independently of all consideration of large populations to be influenced by preaching, missionary efforts, and the

like, a constant worship of God, with every circumstance of devotion, and reverence, and beauty, and grandeur, carefully attended to, should be carried on by men who should give their lives to this as their great work and occupation.

It is not my wish to enter upon the old story of monastic abuses and the corruptions of the dark ages; but I think that without in any way compromising our position as Englishmen who have been privileged to live after the Church was reformed, and not before that Reformation, we may very well admit that one of the needs of our age and generation is that we should strengthen and deepen the idea of divine worship. I have seen it stated broadly that Protestants have lost the idea of worship altogether. I do not at all believe it. But I think that we may very well admit that the side of religion which is concerned with worship is the weakest side both of the Church of England and of other Protestant Churches. The feeling of the necessity of sound Christian teaching is strong, the feeling of the need of prayer is strong, but the highest feeling of all, the feeling of the noble nature of worship—worship which shall approximate to that which St. John witnessed in his vision as occupying the inhabitants of Heaven—this feeling is certainly not so strong as it ought to be, not so strong perhaps as it was in the olden days, when it may be fairly granted that the Church was much darker than it is now.

I believe that this reference to worship as the master idea of a large church, and the chief thought symbolised by it, will put us upon the true track in investigating the cathedral question; and I purpose therefore—having this idea of worship in my mind—to make some remarks upon our Cathedrals, and illustrate them by reference to my own experience as a Dean.

1. The principal feature of a Cathedral is the maintenance of a daily service upon a grand scale.

We have to thank the Cathedrals for much of the tradition concerning the use of the Church of England with respect to daily service. The cathedral service has shown great power of vitality. In Ely it was suppressed for a time by Oliver Cromwell, as it was elsewhere; and we have an account of its suppression. Ely had the honour at one time of claiming Oliver as a citizen; his signature, as one of the trustees of a local

charity, may still be seen amongst the muniments of that charity; and accordingly he favoured Ely Cathedral by cleansing it and reforming it by his own personal interference. We read that when the Rebellion prevailed in those parts, Cromwell, who then began to rise in the army, wrote a letter to the Rev. William Hitch, one of the Minor Canons, letting him know that "lest the soldiers should in any tumultuary and disorderly way attempt the reformation of this cathedral church, he required him to forbear altogether the choir service, so unedifying and offensive; and that, as he would answer it, if any disorders should arise thereupon," advising him also to catechize, read and expound the Scriptures, and have more frequent preaching than had been hitherto usual in the Cathedral, till he should have further directions from the Parliament. Notwithstanding this letter, Mr. Hitch continued to officiate as before: upon which Cromwell, with a party of soldiers, attended by the rabble, came into the church in time of Divine service, with his hat on; and directing himself to Mr. Hitch, said, "I am a man under authority, and am commanded to dismiss this assembly." Upon which Mr. Hitch made a pause; but Cromwell and the rabble passing up towards the communion table, Mr. Hitch proceeded with the service; at which Cromwell returned, and laying his hand upon his sword, in a passion, bid Mr. Hitch "leave off his fooling, and come down;" and so drove out the whole congregation.* Nevertheless I am thankful to be able to look back upon more than ten years' attendance on the daily service in Ely Cathedral, during which time the service was probably better in all respects than it was when the Protector brought it to such an abrupt and lawless conclusion.

If I desired merely to give a forcible picture of the spiritual side of the cathedral service I might be content to quote in this place at some length from Dean Goulburn's Lectures on the "Cathedral System." As it is I will content myself with introducing one passage from the Lecture entitled, "The Daily Office as the Business of Life," and then will add some suggestions of a practical kind such as my own experience can furnish.

"Let us first seek," says Dean Goulburn, speaking in a Cathedral, "to have a definite understanding of what this life of

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 23.

ours is; because without a clear intelligence on the subject we shall never be able to lead it aright. The great majority of men have a business, an occupation, a pursuit, which fills up the greater portion of their time, to which the better part of their day is devoted. Now in the case of resident members of a Cathedral establishment, this business is the keeping up, and attending upon, and striving (each one in his place) to raise to the highest point of perfection the daily church services of the house of God. This attendance and these services are to us just what his law is to the barrister, his counting-house to the merchant, his drill to the soldier, his parish to the pastor—it is the field in which we have to serve God, the task, or at all events the main task, which His Providence has assigned to us. Of course it has its restrictions, its trials, its disadvantages (if you will), like every other business in the world. What occupation can one name which does not more or less fetter and hamper a man who pursues it earnestly, which does not make occasionally very inconvenient demands upon his time, which does not shut him out from the power of doing a great many things which, if he was quite his own master, and could maintain his family independently of any profession, he would like to do? There is no pursuit in the world which is not a tie to a man, and a restraint upon his liberty, and which is not apt at times to become a snare, just as there is none which has not its own peculiar interest, and does not occasionally offer means of growing wiser and better to those who are engaged in it. Daily attendance upon the worship of God resembles in these respects every other pursuit. Of course it breaks and interrupts the day for other work, or, as we say, cuts it up. Of course also it is a great snare to those who make no effort to turn it to a moral and spiritual account, as having a tendency to familiarize them with holy things, and to lower their standard of reverence, or at best to formalize them. But I need hardly add that here, as in nature, the brightest lights lie alongside the deepest shadows, and that the very same features of our life, which act as snares and drawbacks to the unholy-minded and indifferent, prove to a spiritual mind—I may say, to a mind aiming at becoming spiritual—a very great advantage, and a very high and real satisfaction."*

* The Cathedral System, p. 41.

These earnest words of the Dean of Norwich bring the daily service of the cathedral before us as emphatically the work of the whole cathedral body from the Dean down to the youngest chorister. Looking back to my own decanal recollections I entirely assent to what Dean Goulburn has said concerning the necessity of regarding the daily office as the business of life, and the certainty that the due attendance upon the office will interfere with other arrangements and cut up the day. It will do this to a greater extent than persons who have not tried the experiment would be disposed to believe. In the first place the mere duration of the services occupies as nearly as possible two hours of the primest part of the day. Then it can hardly be that some additional time should not be lost before going to church and after returning from church; it is hard to break with absolute suddenness of change from other occupations in order to go to church, and back again into those occupations on returning from church; the student has his thread constantly broken. Besides it is very difficult for a Dean to hide himself; his hours are known, and he can be watched following his virger on returning from church; his time is almost necessarily put at public disposal; and I confess that I found my time as a dean much less my own, much more frittered away by engagements and occupations of which it was difficult at the end of the day to give any clear account, than had been the case in my previous life, which had the appearance of being more laborious.

However, cost what it may in respect of time, there can be no manner of doubt that the daily office of the cathedral is the Dean's prime occupation. My own opinion is that, when at home, he should never be absent from a single service unless compelled by infirmity. The spirit and earnestness and devotional character of the service will depend very much upon him: if the head be sick, the heart will be faint. It is a considerable advantage to a dean to have some knowledge of and taste for music: this enables him to take his own proper part in the choral service, and also to speak with some kind of authority when the music of the service is bad: moreover the consciousness that the Dean can appreciate their efforts will almost infallibly have its effect upon the whole choral body: but it cannot be expected that Deans should be often chosen on musical grounds, and the qualification cannot be spoken of as abso-

lutely indispensable; it is to be expected, however, that every dean will make himself acquainted with the subject of musical service in that way which is open to every educated man, that he will watch the music of his cathedral, take the best advice he can get, and make it his business to provide that the music of his cathedral shall be really good, however little he may be able personally to understand or to enjoy it.

The weight of the daily office presses, I think, the most heavily upon the Lay Clerks: their attendance is the most continuous, their share in the office is the most laborious and the most technical, and their education does not give them advantages in appreciating the value of the work in which they are engaged equal to those possessed by the clergy of the cathedral. On this account the lay clerk side of the cathedral system has been a very weak side in times past, and perhaps in some cathedrals is so now. I do not intend to criticize unfavourably either past or present with reference to this question; but I think it well to observe, as the result of my own experience, that Lay Clerks sometimes are amongst the worthiest members of the cathedral body, and that no amount of trouble and inquiry is wasted which tends to procure really holy and religious men for the occupation of this responsible post. Voice and knowledge of music must not stand for everything. The Dean should be quite satisfied as to the previous history of every applicant, and nothing should induce him to admit a doubtful member into the choir. Every Lay Clerk should be a consistent and devout communicant.

This last condition is necessary not merely on general religious grounds, but because unless it be satisfied it is impossible that the Holy Communion should be celebrated in a cathedral as it ought to be. Nothing can be more melancholy than to attend the service of a cathedral on a Sunday, and watch the choir disperse after the sermon, and then find the most solemn part of the service celebrated without any choir at all; perhaps almost without congregation. I have witnessed such things.

The most perfect condition of Lay Clerks would, I think, be realized, if they were admitted as Lay Readers, and so were able to spend their time, when not occupied directly or indirectly with their choral work, in such ministrations as could properly be performed by laymen, acting under clerical direction. Such

an arrangement would seem to be more comely and appropriate than that which now exists, and according to which Lay Clerks are generally engaged in secular occupations. I do not myself object on principle to such occupations: any honest work harmonizes perfectly well with the duty of serving God in His sanctuary: but it would be still better, in my opinion, if the work of the lay clerk outside the church could be in intimate connection with his work inside; each influencing the other, and each imparting to the other vigour and strength and spirit: the lay reader, while in church, praying for himself and for those to whom he might be appointed to minister; the lay clerk, while out of church, finding by experience the need of prayer and meditation. Nevertheless I am willing to acknowledge the difficulty of carrying this theory into practice: I never saw my way to do so, when I was a dean,—the difficulty was enhanced in my own case by the smallness of the cathedral city, and the consequent smallness of demand for lay readers,—and I throw out the notion now rather as an optimist than as a practical one. The necessity of giving prime consideration to musical gifts and musical skill is the first great difficulty in the way. You may easily, thank God, obtain well educated Christian men subject to this condition; but for a reader you want something more; you want something like a call of God's Spirit, an earnest desire to minister in a humble way to the souls of men, a zeal for the work of Christ in the world. Moreover it may be questioned whether the constant use of the voice, and the visitation of sick persons and (it may be) unwholesome dwellings, with all the accompaniments of the life of a lay reader in a large city, would be compatible with the care which is necessary in order to keep in continual good order the vocal powers, which are the lay clerk's chief instrument for performing the duties of his office.

Supposing the notion which I have just been discussing to be impracticable, I may remark that nevertheless the behaviour and general conduct of the Lay Clerks are a matter of the most extreme importance. In my own experience I had one or two sad cases of discipline; the principle upon which I endeavoured to act was this, that in the event of any scandal no consideration of musical proficiency should be allowed for a moment to weigh. Mr. Jasper, the gifted musician of Cloisterham, I should have

cleared out of the cathedral with extreme rapidity. The Dean must have his eyes and his ears always open, for unfortunately the eyes and ears of all the inhabitants of a cathedral city are open, and it may be that some deadly scandal is rife, and that the Dean is the last to hear of it. But with proper vigilance, and due care in the first selection, there is no reason why the clerks of a cathedral should not be a thoroughly creditable body, as I have every cause to believe that in some cathedrals they are.

One thing is quite certain, namely, that the spirit and earnestness with which the Lay Clerks will do their duty will depend to a considerable extent upon the manner in which the Dean and Canons do theirs. "Like priest, like people": and if the Dean and Canons do not appreciate the daily choral service of the church, why should the Lay Clerks?

The Choristers are a simpler problem than the lay clerks, inasmuch as boys are in a more plastic state than men, and can be governed more easily and by a simpler discipline. If a cathedral has not a well-conducted, well-taught, set of Choristers, the authorities must be in fault. The great point is to secure entire control over the boys: in a very small city, like Ely, it has been found that this can be sufficiently done by means of a day school; in larger places it is necessary that the boys should be boarded, and so cut off from the temptations and dangers to which their voices and musical skill lay them open. No rules with regard to singing out of the school and the cathedral can be too strict: the dangers to which a boy of very superior voice and good looks are subject are fearfully greater than would be suspected by those who have had no intimate knowledge of the matter. Great care should be taken also not to spoil Chorister boys by making too much of them; they may easily become conceited and vain; and in consideration of this danger, as well as upon more general and higher grounds, I venture to think that the fewer the solos of a complicated character appointed for boys to sing in a cathedral, the better: such efforts are bad for the boys, and are not nearly so suitable for public worship as are the united efforts of the choir.

This remark leads me to say a word upon the style of Music which ought to be encouraged in our cathedrals. I speak with great diffidence; but I venture to think that they who are very

earnest for an almost exclusive use of the works of the old masters are nearly as much in the wrong as those who would introduce a very light and florid style. While I reverence the works of Tallis, Dean Aldrich, Purcell, Gibbons, Boyce, and should grieve extremely that their works should ever be neglected, I think it is also right to remember that there are no indications whatever of the gift of musical utterance being sparingly bestowed in our own days. I do not hesitate to say that in my own opinion the *Services* of the late Dr. Walmisley are equal in grandeur of conception and in variety of musical phrase to anything which has come to us from the older masters: I would specify his *Credo* in F as one of the grandest musical renderings of the Nicene symbol ever produced; and it would be very possible to mention several living composers who have produced works of the highest and purest order of merit. Now it is on many grounds most desirable that the Music of a Cathedral should be of a varied character, and it is well for musical composers to know that the cathedral authorities are always willing to make trial of their works, and if the same should prove worthy to put them upon their permanent list. Few people, I fancy, are aware of the large amount of cathedral music which has been produced of late years; and I am sanguine enough to believe that we have by no means come to the end of the catalogue of church composers, and that there is good hope of hearing new music equal in sweetness and dignity and skill to anything that has been produced hitherto.

For it should never be forgotten that the cathedrals have amongst other functions that of being Schools of Sacred Music. An institution, which has an endowment for Precentor, Minor Canons, Organist, Lay Clerks, Choristers, may be expected to do more than merely support a noble choral service within the cathedral walls; it certainly ought to influence the music of the diocese, it may be that of the whole Church. The cathedrals have done this, are doing it, and probably will do it much more.

I made an effort, when I was a dean, to bring the cathedrals of England into some kind of co-operation for the purpose of encouraging the production of church music. My scheme was, that each capitular body should subscribe annually such a sum as 5*l.* for the purpose of forming a fund, which should be

expended in encouraging composers to produce such works as might seem to be most required. I proposed to offer prizes for competition to young composers, and to give orders for works to be produced by the more veteran musicians. I wrote to every Dean and Chapter in the kingdom, but received favourable answers from only three or four; and so my scheme broke down. Nevertheless I am still of opinion that if the capitular bodies would co-operate in such a work, the result would be most advantageous, not merely as leading to the production of new music, and as enabling competent persons to influence the style of the music produced, but as publishing to the world that the cathedral authorities regarded themselves as being *ex officio* guardians of the music of the church, and as being bound in duty to aid its progress in all practicable ways.

2. The daily choral service has no necessary connection with the size or character of the building in which it is celebrated, and a cathedral is not of necessity a large church: many English parish churches are larger than a Welsh or a Colonial cathedral; but as a matter of fact our English cathedrals, like those in continental Europe, are very large and very beautiful, and some thoughts suggest themselves as connected with these features.

A large building, covering some acres, and for the most part not less than five centuries old, needs constant watchfulness. My own feeling is that the business of watching the condition of the building belongs to the Dean, and that it cannot safely be delegated. It is easy to say that the care of a building belongs to architects and not to clergymen; but you cannot have an architect in the building always, and any practical person who may be employed should act under authority, and should feel that the eyes of those who are responsible for the building are constantly upon him. The great monuments of the piety of an age which can scarcely be repeated are so unspeakably precious, that they demand affectionate care, and no trouble is lost which is expended upon their preservation.

But it is not merely a question of preservation: a Cathedral should be constantly improving and becoming more beautiful. At all events the process of improvement may go on, for many years to come, in most of our cathedrals without fear of the work being overdone. Speaking of Ely, I may say that the work

of restoration was seriously taken in hand some thirty years ago by Dean Peacock, it was carried on under his direction for about twenty years, and was continued during the years of my own incumbency; and there is yet abundance of work to be done. It seems to me that an important principle is concerned in this continued effort to improve and perfect: the work conveys a spiritual lesson: the building of God's Temple presents itself in appropriate grandeur to the minds of the inhabitants of the diocese as a great work to be undertaken seriously and patiently and perseveringly; and if I am not mistaken, other churches profit by the spirit of improvement which is generated; it is not the case that the poorer churches are robbed by the gifts to the great Mother Church; on the other hand, the impetus given by zeal and activity at head-quarters acts favourably for every parish church and chapel throughout the whole diocese.*

But in order to keep cathedral works going the Dean must beg. It is a sad thing to have to confess, but it is the lamentable truth: capitular funds cannot do everything; and in order to eke out capitular funds the purses of the benevolent must be put under contribution. Who is to do this, except the Dean?

Sometimes public liberality is rather a tax upon cathedrals

* While I was Dean of Ely I made it a practice to print and publish from time to time an account of what was being done in the Cathedral. Such notices have a permanent value as records; frequently, in the absence of notes made at the time, it is very difficult to trace the exact history of what has been done in a building. Moreover, curious facts turn up from time to time which, unless recorded by some one who takes an interest in the building are likely to be forgotten again. Let me give an instance. It was a question when I first went to Ely, and when the restoration of Alan de Walsingham's Lantern was undertaken as a memorial to Dean Peacock, how the bells in the lantern were rung: in fact some bold sceptics questioned whether there ever were any bells, notwithstanding distinct documentary evidence of their existence. One day, while the work of restoration was going on, a carpenter told me that he had found the marks of the ropes; and he showed me, upon one of the vertical beams forming the south side of the lantern, three parallel grooves, which had evidently been worn by ropes. My remark was, "If these be the marks of the bell-ropes there ought to be four, as I know that there were four bells." A little examination soon brought to light the fourth rope-mark. I then directed the carpenter to remove some of the wooden groining below, in order that we might see where the rope-marks pointed: he did so, and we found that they pointed to the base of the eastern column of the arch of the south transept. Here therefore stood the brother, whose business it was to chime the bells: from the position occupied by him the ropes would *clear* the stalls which then extended under the lantern: and, to complete the story, I found in the discovery the explanation of two marks in the pillar near which the chimer stood. I had never been able to guess what they were, but I now found that they were the marks of the pegs upon which the ends of the ropes were twisted when not used for chiming. Thus the problem of ringing the bells in Ely Lantern was completely solved.

than otherwise: it sometimes happens that the acceptance of a gift involves the chapter in a large additional expenditure. But upon the whole, contributors must not be evil-spoken of: my own experience leads me to say that considerable funds may be raised for cathedral purposes, even when the work has been in hand for a quarter of a century, and there are none of the advantages of novelty, and no fresh mines of wealth to open.

Moreover, if it be known that cathedral authorities are anxious to receive offerings, and if works of one kind or another are generally going on in the cathedral, giving becomes to a certain extent a habit or a fashion; visitors notice that certain improvements have been begun and are not completed, and they express their desire to give a helping hand; inhabitants of the diocese choose the Cathedral as the best recipient for memorials of deceased friends; the Cathedral is remembered by benevolent persons when making their wills; and sometimes a man of high taste and artistic power (a Styleman Le Strange or a Gambier Parry) is willing to labour for years with his own hand in the beautifying of God's house. I could illustrate all these sources of benefaction by reference to my Ely experience; and I may add that a cathedral which is in constant growth is, as it were, a living thing, and has all the interest of life to those whose business and privilege it is to watch over it and tend it.

It need hardly be said that much care must be taken to prevent mistakes being made with regard to cathedral additions or alterations; the best professional advice should of course be obtained, but besides this it is impossible for the resident guardians of the building, the Dean and Chapter, to be too careful in bringing their own judgment and observation to bear. They ought not, if I may venture to say so, to permit any architect, however eminent, to lead them blindfold; and the perfect local knowledge which they possess, or ought to possess, will sometimes supply an element in the discussion of what ought or ought not to be done, which is of infinite value to an architect, who in the nature of things can only give a small portion of his time to any one building.*

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* It is worthy of remark that in the case of the mediæval buildings the architect was not unfrequently, as in the case of Alan de Walsingham at Ely, a member of the conventual body, and so always on the spot, and possessed of all necessary local knowledge.

When I was Dean of Ely no question was asked me more frequently than this: Is Ely Cathedral finished? My answer generally was to the effect, that it was far from finished, and I doubted whether it ever would be. Like the famous vine in the Temple of Jerusalem, to which one man gave a leaf, and another a bunch of grapes, there seems to be no reason why offerings to a cathedral should not be almost indefinitely continued.

It may be said that this view of the matter rather tends in the direction of making a cathedral an exhibition or place of show. I need hardly say that I do not desire this result; but I am bound to confess that the question of dealing with a cathedral as a sight has always presented to my mind many practical difficulties, and I fear that the difficulties are too deeply seated to be entirely got rid of. "Behold what manner of stones and what buildings are here!" was the natural expression of the feelings of the disciples to our blessed Lord with regard to the wonders of the Temple; and though the prime conception of a great church be that of a place of worship, and of a building which symbolizes by its grandeur and beauty the majesty of God, still it is impossible to get rid altogether of a secondary conception of a building as a triumph of art, and as a thing beautiful to look upon, and moreover interesting in its antiquarian, or architectural, or historical aspects. Of course there can be no doubt as to the propriety of keeping our cathedrals open during a reasonable portion of each day; this alone marks them as houses of prayer, rather than as curiosities, and it tends to break down the notion of the last generation which regarded them chiefly as sights; but this does not get over the whole difficulty. In Ely, for example, though the doors were open from sunrise till sunset, still there was a necessity for the attendance of virgers and for the process of "taking parties round" certain portions of the cathedral. We felt that it was impossible to leave open constantly the delicate and beautiful work of the choir; mischief might easily have been done most unintentionally, by the mere action of rustic hobnails upon a polished marble pavement: and moreover there is no good reason for opening the choir, except during the time of divine service; to do so would in fact recognize the sight-seeing theory of cathedrals, far more than the practice of leaving constantly open the nave, which is the layman's possession, and closing, except

during the hours of divine service, the clerical portion of the building, or choir.

No subject is more frequently dwelt upon, in connection with cathedrals, than the nuisance of virgers; why can we not be left alone? is the question which indignant cathedral visitors occasionally send to newspapers. Yet it should be remembered that for the one indignant visitor who asks this question, there are probably a hundred who have thoroughly enjoyed the virger's exposition of the wonders and beauties and historical reminiscences of the building. I presume that to a large number of visitors the virger is what the Dean of Westminster (to take an excellent example) is to such educated visitors in Westminster Abbey as have had the good fortune to see the church under his guidance: all things are comparative; and I apprehend that the abolition of virgers, even if it were possible, would be a great practical grievance. The Dean of Westminster, whose name I have just now made bold to introduce, told me that he did in fact try the experiment of a free church, that is a church without virgers, for some time in Westminster Abbey, and that the result was the production of the most lamentable and numerous complaints from disappointed and dissatisfied visitors.

3. Another view which may be taken of our Cathedrals is that in which they are regarded as adapted by their size, their beauty, their clerical and choral foundations, as well as by their character of mother churches of their respective dioceses for great and special diocesan occasions.

Take, for instance, the occasion of the Bishop's ordinations. The 31st Canon enjoins that the Bishop shall ordain "in the cathedral or parish church where the Bishop resideth, in the presence not only of the archdeacon, but of the dean and two prebendaries at the least." This recognizes the Cathedral as the proper place for ordinations, and the Cathedral body as the proper assistants of the bishop in his solemn function; and the reason of the thing entirely accords with the injunction of the canon; but I wish to urge beyond this essential propriety of the cathedral, as cathedral, for the service of ordination, that the magnitude and beauty of those cathedrals which God has given to England, to say nothing of their generally unparochial character, enables the Bishop, with the co-operation

of the Dean and Chapter, to superadd to the essential solemnity of the ordination service, circumstances so touching and so impressive as to make it impossible for any but the hardest hearts not to be affected by them. No part of my duties as Dean received at my hands more careful attention than this: it seemed to me so important that every arrangement should approach perfection as near as might be, that every tone of the organ, and every note sung by the choir, and every movement from beginning to end of the service should be exactly what the most scrupulous taste could demand, that there should be no jar, nothing to offend, nothing to leave an unpleasing remembrance; but that the souls of the young priests and deacons should be (as it were) drawn up from earth to heaven by every little aid which could be given to the great service of the day.

I cannot consent to regard such matters as these as being trifles. The day of ordination is a critical day in a man's life: it is extremely important that the most should be made of it; and though the greatest considerations of all are those into which I have not entered, still there are considerations of a minor character (if you please) which may not only produce an effect at the time, but may leave marks of pleasure or pain that will last as long as life itself.

Why not quote my own experience, especially as it is connected with Ely Cathedral? I was ordained deacon in Ely Cathedral; and though there were many things which were painfully unsuitable in the arrangements, and the cathedral had then few of the capabilities for solemn occasions that it has now, still the general effect of that wonderful church upon the mind of a young man looking forward to the great change coming upon him was such as, in my own case at least, can never be effaced. I compare it with my ordination as priest, when the service was hurried through in St. George's, Hanover Square: the ordination took place at an early hour in the morning, so that the church might be clear for the marriages which were to follow; any ceremony accompanied by less solemnity and impressiveness it is difficult to conceive. I look upon it now through a long vista of years, but it has never ceased to oppress me like the recollection of an unpleasant dream.

I say, therefore, that one beneficial end which may be accomplished by the full and proper use of such Cathedrals as the

Middle Ages have provided for us, is the securing for the great rite of ordination such a solemnity of ministration and such a dignity of circumstance, as shall make it almost impossible for a clergyman to forget in the course of his subsequent ministry the manner in which he was appointed thereto.

I refer to the days of ordinations as the chief red-letter days of a Cathedral church; but there are other festivals to the purposes of which Cathedrals may be profitably applied. And it is well to remark that although such gatherings as those which were connected with mediæval pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Etheldreda have ceased, and no wise man will wish them back again, still the idea of a religious festival is one which has existed since the days of the Mosaic dispensation, and which ought not to be rashly discarded. Of late years a kind of festival has grown up almost spontaneously in the soil of the English Church; I refer to what are commonly called Choral Festivals: the main purpose of these is the improvement of parochial music; they are not intended to be, and ought not to be, gatherings for the purpose of mere musical exhibition; but they are intended to give an impetus to the practice of music in the scattered parishes, by holding out an inducement to labour and pains, and by giving a centre round which the efforts of the neighbourhood may collect themselves. Moreover, if a choral festival be conducted with care and discretion, the day appropriated to it may be made a holiday of the purest and most profitable kind. There are dangers which must be guarded against,—there always are dangers connected with large gatherings,—but if proper vigilance be applied, and if those who superintend the festival have a correct view of its purpose, it seems possible to make a choral gathering in the cathedral the means of spreading solemn thoughts concerning the worship of God throughout the whole of a Diocese.

I shall not go deeply into this question of choral festivals, because it does not exclusively touch cathedrals; but I think it may be well to observe that it is one of several methods by means of which the high worship of the Mother Church may be made to exercise an elevating and improving influence upon the worship of the villages and hamlets.

Moreover I regard it as a right and just thing to take every opportunity of making the inhabitants of a diocese, both clerical

and lay, feel and practically realize that the Cathedral belongs to them all and not to the inhabitants of the Cathedral town, still less to the Dean and Chapter. One great distinction of a cathedral from other churches is that it has no merely parochial character; it belongs to the Diocese, and the more it can be used by the inhabitants of all parts so much the better. It cannot be denied that there has been till lately—it may in some places exist still—a very exclusive feeling concerning the cathedrals: clergymen have seldom been permitted to preach in cathedrals unless they were members of the body; and when they have, they have worn a different vestment from that used by those members, in order to mark their non-membership. I confess that I regard this exclusive feeling as unnecessary and mischievous, and in my own practice as a dean I took every opportunity of making the clergy of the diocese feel as much at home as possible in the Mother Church. I had no fear lest an invitation to preach in the Cathedral, even in a surplice, or the wearing of a surplice at any other time in the cathedral (as, for instance, at the installation of a bishop, or at a choral festival), should delude the clerical visitor into the notion that he was a member of the capitular body. I never found that any one was so deluded.

I think I ought not to pass away from the subject of the use of Cathedrals on grand and special occasions, without noticing that in my own experience the cathedral of which I was dean was used for the purpose of the bishop's Diocesan Conferences. One of the transepts, having been separated by curtains from the rest of the church, was found to be an admirable place for a solemn assembly; and I believe I am not wrong in saying that the sense of being within a church during the discussion of questions of importance had a most useful effect in checking any warmth of temper or any hastiness of expression. Perhaps some persons may differ from me in opinion as to the propriety of thus using a church; but there are abundant precedents for using portions of cathedrals for other purposes than those of worship, and certainly our Ely experience was all in favour of the particular use to which I am now referring.*

* Some persons have expressed an objection to this use of cathedrals on the ground that the applause and claptrap of a public meeting are unsuitable for a church; practically however it has been found, and I doubt not will be found, that the effect of the building is to chasten the tone of the meeting held within its walls.

I have just written the phrase "abundant precedents for using portions of cathedrals for other purposes than those of worship," and it occurs to me that it may be imagined that I refer with approval to the practice which exists in several cathedrals of using the sacred building as a room for oratorios and sacred concerts. I do not wish to be misunderstood upon this point, and I here announce by the way that I do not refer to this practice with approval; on the other hand, I intensely dislike it.

4. Another use of Cathedrals has been much noticed and approved of late years, namely, the opening of them for large congregations on Sunday evenings and other suitable occasions. This application of large churches appeals very much to the utilitarian tastes and tendencies of the age, and is therefore very popular; nay, some people seem to think that the only intention of Cathedrals is the accommodation of monster congregations, and they would base their defence of cathedrals upon their utility as thus demonstrated by the number of worshippers or hearers whom they accommodate. It would be an ungracious task to depreciate this application of our cathedrals; every one must rejoice to see them so used; yet it must be conceded that it is not their only or even their principal use; if it were so, a grand cathedral in a small town would be out of place. This, however, is certainly true, namely, that in a large town a large cathedral may be turned to great spiritual account; it must not supplant, but it may very well supplement, the parochial system; and a service in a cathedral may be made attractive, in the best and truest sense of the word, to a vast number of persons whom the ordinary ministrations of the parish church seem incapable of reaching.

Let me illustrate this point by my own decanal reminiscences. Ely is the smallest cathedral town in England; the population around the cathedral does not exceed five or six thousand persons; yet there is a congregation of some twelve or thirteen hundred under the cathedral dome every Sunday evening. The history of this congregation is briefly as follows. Some years ago it was necessary to close the Lady Chapel, which, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, has been used as a parish church, in order that it might be reseated and otherwise refitted and cleaned. While the Lady Chapel was thus closed, the Dean

and Chapter permitted the use of the Cathedral for an evening parochial service. In the cathedral all seats were free, whereas in the Lady Chapel the pew system had prevailed; and though the ministering clergy were exactly the same as before, the change of the place of the service, the abundance of the accommodation, and the freedom of the seats, were sufficient to produce an immediate and large increase in the congregation; the increase went on steadily, and the result was, that when the Lady Chapel was again ready to receive worshippers, the congregation was more than twice as large as it could hold. Consequently the evening service in the Cathedral became, by the nature of the case, a permanent institution; and it is the best evidence within my knowledge of the success which is likely to attend all efforts to make cathedrals useful for large congregations. Ely is unquestionably the least favourable place for making such an experiment, and yet even there an immense congregation meets each Sunday evening, and an opportunity is given for worship and for hearing sermons such as never existed in that smallest of English cities before.

The difficulty of course with respect to cathedrals or very large churches is this, namely, that the church remains stationary, while the population does not. Nevertheless there are cases in which you have large populations and large churches in the midst of them, and in these it may be questioned whether as yet the discovery has been made how to turn the church to the very best account as a spiritual agency in the midst of the people.

This part of the subject, however, is one which I do not propose to treat at any great length: what I chiefly desire to say with respect to it is, that although the application of cathedrals to the purpose of holding large congregations is a useful one, and one probably susceptible of greater development than it has yet received, still we must not permit ourselves to be carried away by the notion that the reception of monster congregations is *the* use of cathedrals, or that a cathedral is incapable of being turned to account without this particular application of it. This ought to be done; but there are many other things more closely pertaining to the nature of cathedrals which ought not to be left undone.

5. In fact, the traditions of Cathedral establishments, and of

the preceding monastic foundations upon which many of them are based, point not so much to monastic congregations as to quiet contemplation and theological study. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to make the past live over again. Even if the arrangements of a cathedral or monastery were favourable in the Middle Ages to the production of studious contemplation or contemplative study, it may be doubted whether such a result is likely to be produced under the very different conditions of our own time. No sane person will question the immense debt of gratitude which we owe to such establishments for the protection afforded by them to religion and learning in days when no other protection was possible; but if we would turn what remains of our Cathedrals to the best account, it seems to me that our main thought must be something different from that of finding a quiet home for thoughtful students. Very often the deanery or the canonical residence will, as a matter of fact, supply such a home; but so will the retired rectory in a small country parish, so will college rooms: but I venture to think that this must not be the principal point kept in view, and that we must rather look to the Dean and Canons doing useful Diocesan work, making themselves felt as a power in the Diocese, if we would keep them in the position which they at present occupy. The first thing to be done in order to put the cathedrals on the road to permanent and general improvement is, in my opinion, the uprooting of the notion that a canonry should be held in plurality with a country living. It may not be possible—in fact, in the case of more than one cathedral it would not be possible, if only in consequence of the non-existence of canonical residences —to insist at once upon this condition; but the sooner we come to the understanding that cathedral preferment has its own duties—duties which extend over the year and cannot be concentrated into three months—or at all events, the nearer we come to this understanding, the better. Let patronage be exercised with this understanding in view, and let stalls be accepted with the same, and the remainder of the cathedral problem will be comparatively easy: it will probably be found impossible, as it is also happily unnecessary, to lay down a general formula which shall be applicable to all cathedrals; the wants of different places are different, and an attempt should be made to find men adapted to the posts which they have to fill; but if it is

once understood that a canonry implies work and not mere dignified ease, and that a man is made a Canon not merely because he has the ear of the Prime Minister or is the son or son-in-law of a bishop, but because he is fit for the place, then the cathedral machinery will work. It was a recommendation of the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852 that in the case of each canonical appointment a reason for the appointment should be given in writing by the patron, and should be entered upon the records of the Chapter. One can imagine the ingenious deviser of this scheme indulging in a quiet smile as he proposed his plan, and the smile becoming more general when the proposal was adopted; but certainly, whether the patron be called upon to give his reason in writing or not, he ought, in his own mind, to have a reason, and should be persuaded that the man whom he nominates is a suitable person for the post. Conscientious exercise of patronage will do more than almost anything else to strengthen what remains of our cathedral foundations.

Another recommendation of the Cathedral Commissioners must find a place here, because it is connected with the conception of cathedrals as places for theological study, and because it is also connected with my recollections as a dean. The Commissioners declared their opinion, that "it would be advantageous to religion and learning if, in each of the two provinces, a certain number of theological seminaries were formed or restored." When I was Dean of Ely I thought much upon this subject, and I fancied that Ely, in consequence of its proximity to Cambridge, offered great advantages for the foundation of a theological college on a large scale. In this view I may be right, or I may be wrong; but undoubtedly all that is happening now with respect to the Universities, and the experience of some of the bishops with respect to candidates for Holy Orders, point to the necessity of giving more consideration than hitherto has been given to the question of theological training; and I think it can scarcely be doubted that the Cathedrals supply the best foundations upon which to erect theological seminaries.*

* I have dealt with this question somewhat more fully in a paper written in reply to a letter addressed in the year 1869 by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Deans of the several Cathedrals. That paper, with others of a similar kind, is now *publici juris* in consequence of a motion made in the House of Lords in the session of the present year (1871) by the Archbishop of York.

6. There is one other point upon which my recollections as a dean lead me to make a few remarks, namely, the position in which Cathedrals stand with respect to Statutes.

I am not well acquainted with the condition of the cathedrals of the Old Foundation with regard to this point. I believe that most of them—it may be all of them—have the power of making, with the approval of their Visitor, new statutes from time to time; the cathedrals of the New Foundation have no such power. Nevertheless it was not intended that these institutions should be bound for evermore by an unvarying rule; on the contrary, nothing can be more clearly expressed than the intention that the statutes should be changed from time to time as changing circumstances should require. Thus the Statutes of Ely, which in their existing form were given by King Charles II., conclude thus:—"Inhibemus visitatori et statutorum declaratori, aliisque omnibus cujuscumque dignitatis aut authoritatis fuerint, ne ulla nova statuta condant, aut cum aliquo dispensent. Inhibemus etiam decano et canonicis ecclesiæ nostræ, ne hujusmodi statuta recipiant, sub pœnâ perjurii et amotionis perpetuæ ab ecclesiâ nostrâ. Reservamus tamen nobis et successoribus nostris plenam potestatem et authoritatem statuta hœc mutandi, alterandi, et (si videbitur) etiam nova condendi." It will be seen that although great pains are taken to guard against the intrusion of unauthorized statutes, the necessity of alteration is clearly recognized, and the authority for making alteration is defined. Unfortunately the power reserved to the Crown in the Statutes of King Charles II. is held by the lawyers in our own days to mean the Crown with the advice and consent of Parliament; and as Parliament has not taken the matter in hand the statutes remain as they were, save only as they have been in some respects modified or set aside by recent legislation. But what is needed is a distinct review and reform of the statutes by competent authority. I need not here specify—indeed, I do not know that I am competent to specify—the changes which should be made, but I do wish to assert the principle of providing a reforming power to which the work of change may be committed. Probably the most suitable arrangement would be that power should be given to the Deans and Chapters to prepare new statutes, which might be laid before the Archbishop of the Province, and if approved

by him might be laid before the Queen in Council, and then become the governing statutes of the Cathedrals. The advantage of this scheme would be that each capitular body would be able to consider its own local circumstances and to prepare its statutes accordingly. The condition of a cathedral in a large town is so different from that of a cathedral in a small one, and there are so many circumstances differencing one cathedral from another, that it is impossible to prepare one set of statutes which should be applicable to all; but if power were given to make necessary changes and the duty imposed of proposing those changes, the work might easily be done. It would probably be necessary, according to the analogy of what has been done with respect to colleges and schools, to lodge somewhere a power of imposing new statutes if the necessary steps were not taken by the Chapters within a given time.

From the very nature of recollections it would be possible to extend this paper almost indefinitely; but I do not wish to be garrulous. I will therefore sum up in a few sentences some of the conclusions to which my experience and reflections have conducted me.

I see no prospect of gain, and very considerable prospect of loss, in any attempts to deal violently with our Cathedrals. I am for reform, but for reform upon very conservative lines. You cannot by possibility so transform our cathedrals as to make them the active and energetic machines which the steam-engine spirit of the nineteenth century would wish them to be: their working must be of a quiet unobtrusive kind, but it may be a very useful kind of working nevertheless; and enough has been done within the last twenty years in the way of bringing our cathedrals into practical connection with the religious movements of our day and with the feelings and affections of the people, to make us anything but despairing concerning the future. The next twenty years may possibly be still more fruitful; but as this paper professes to contain the recollections of a Dean and not his prophecies, I shall treat of the future very briefly. It seems to me that the points chiefly to be regarded are such as these,—to strengthen the connection between the Bishop and the capitular body; to bring the Canons of the cathedral into useful diocesan work; to accustom the clergy of the Diocese and the

inhabitants generally to regard the Cathedral as a centre of union; to induce the Canons to reside in the cathedral city; to make the cathedrals schools of church music and incentives to musical improvement throughout the diocese; to make the cathedral service a model of church service in devotion, solemnity, and order. To these points many others might be added, but these are a sample; and I cannot but believe that if Deans and Canons be conscientiously chosen for their posts, and if they determine to do their best for the cathedrals committed to their care, with something like these points in view, much may be done to put our cathedrals upon such a footing that wise men will recognize their value and rejoice in their prosperity.

Harvey Carlisle.

ESSAY II.

CATHEDRAL CANONS AND THEIR WORK.

By CANON NORRIS.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The Church has ever needed variety in her Ministry, *prophets* as well as *priests*.

The Cathedral clergy were meant to be distinct from the *Pastorate*, and devoted mainly to preaching and study.

Cranmer's idea of making Cathedrals schools of Divinity never yet realized.

To realize it now would at once give work to Cathedral Canons, and meet a confessed want of the day,—better training for candidates for Holy Orders.

Breadth and dignity would be given to the work of Theological Colleges, if they were thus incorporated with our Cathedrals.

Any Cathedral might at once enter upon this scheme of work without waiting for legislation, though legislation would be needed to give it completeness.

The Church's Ministry would once again attract the intellect of the nation, if the study of scientific Divinity were thus revived.

CATHEDRAL CANONS
AND THEIR WORK.

"Quia lucerna pedibus nostris est Verbum Dei, statuimus et volumus ut Decanus et Canonici nostri, immo per misericordiam Dei obsecramus, ut in Verbo Dei opportunè et importunè seminando sint seduli."—*Statute of Henry VIII.*

By the side of the Priest all through the Hebrew history we have the Prophet. In due succession and with seemly order we see the priests in their courses maintaining the divine ritual. But it is the figure of the Prophet that strikes the eye and stirs the heart.

As one by one they rise before us—the Tishbite, for instance, from the caverns of Carmel, sudden as the whirlwind, dark as the thundercloud, carrying with him everywhere a terror of God—one can hardly doubt that it was the prophet, the long line of prophets, from Eldad and Medad in the wilderness down to him to whom the Word of God came beyond Jordan, who even more than the priesthood moulded the character of the nation.

At any rate it was clearly God's will that the two should co-exist, sometimes strengthening, sometimes counteracting one another; neither influence could be spared. And how was this secured to the Church of Israel?

A hasty reader is apt to suppose that the gift of prophesying was something altogether exceptional; that the prophet was simply a heaven-sent messenger, needing no training,—no part therefore of the regular organization of the church. But the student of the Bible knows that this was not so.

Not only were individual prophets carefully disciplined for their office, as Elisha by Elijah*; but we hear of "companies

* 1 Kings, xix. 21. 2 Kings, iii. 11.

of prophets," and of "schools of the prophets," both in the time of Samuel and in the time of Elisha.

And in these schools or colleges all that was found conducive to the development of the prophetic gift—music for instance *—was diligently cultivated. Elisha seems to have presided over a religious house filled with a hundred such students.† And so completely does this collegiate training appear to have been the rule, that we find Amos ‡ speaking of it as something peculiar in his own case, that he had *not* been thus prepared for his prophetic office.

Such, then, were the prophets, and such the twofold ministry provided for the church under the earlier dispensation, the priest and the prophet working side by side.

And how was it with the early Christian Church? Did it need an order of prophets less than the Jewish Church? St. Paul speaks of it as built "on the foundation of the Apostles and *Prophets;*" and that he here means *Christian* prophets, is plain, for a few verses later he speaks of a mystery being hidden from the holy men of old, but "*now* revealed to His apostles and prophets by the Spirit." And to remove all possible doubt, in this same epistle to the Ephesians, he mentions prophets as a foremost order of the Christian ministry. "He gave some apostles, and some *prophets,* and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers:"—pastors and teachers for the settled cure of souls, prophets and evangelists for the vindication and extension of Christ's Gospel. Clearly St. Paul deemed both branches of the ministry as needful under the New no less than under the Old Dispensation.

And for many ages this continued to be the idea of the Church, that she had need of a twofold ministry:—a pastorate, on the one hand, for the cure of souls; and schools of preaching and of theology, on the other, to keep fresh those fountains from which her ministers must be ever drawing.

The idea was obscured, but never lost sight of, all through the Middle Ages.

It was part of St. Jerome's thought in founding the monastic orders, to revive the schools of the prophets. "Let bishops and

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* 1 Sam. x. 5. 2 Kings, iii. 15. † 2 Kings, iv. 38, 43.
‡ Amos, vii. 14.

presbyters," he says,* "take the apostles and apostolic men as their models; we monks must look rather to Elias and Eliseus and the sons of the prophets." And again,† "The sons of the prophets are the monks of the Old Testament, building their huts by the streams of the Jordan, and living on their barley meal and herbs."

But far more prophet-like than the Anchorites of the East were the *Cœnobites* of Western Europe.

Those forty Benedictines who landed on the shore of Kent, with the giant form‡ of Augustine at their head, well skilled in the Gregorian chants, with their library of sacred books, forming themselves at once into a college, going forth to preach Christ far and wide, but ever returning to their cloister, and so by communion one with another maintaining amidst the heathen their own faith and holy courage,—these men were the true prophets of their age.

And the same idea may be traced all through the charters and statutes of our ancient Cathedrals. The members of the chapter were not scattered like the parochial clergy, but gathered into a college where choristers were trained, the Word of God was proclaimed, lectures in theology were given, and from whence preachers of the Gospel were sent forth into all parts of the diocese.§

Thus used St. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield, "to pray and read with seven or eight of the brethren, as often as he had any leisure from preaching the Word of God." Thus, too, lived the thirty Canons of St. Paul's with their Dean, in obedience, in prayer, in study, and in preaching, after the rule of St. Augustine. Plainly are their life and work distinguished from those of the other clergy. Their life is to be monastic or at least collegiate; their work a prophet's work, the study and the preaching of the Word of God.

With yet greater clearness does the idea come forth in the statutes of the Cathedrals of the Reformation. For in truth it had need of revival; sadly had the true vocation of the cathedral clergy been obscured in the later middle ages. Prophets

* Ep. 58 ad Paulinum.
† Ep. 125 ad rusticum monachum.
‡ Augustine is said to have been taller by the head and shoulders than any of his companions. Acta Sanctorum, 399, quoted in Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury.
§ Cath. Commissioners' First Report.

no longer, but wealthy sinecurists, encumbering the Church. It was not to the Canons of his cathedral church, but to the newly founded *Friars Minors* of St. Francis, that the noble Grosseteste of Lincoln looked, to "emulate the prophets of old," and "illuminate the land lying in the shadow of death with the light of their preaching and learning."*

How clearly it was Cranmer's idea to revive something corresponding to the *schools of the prophets*, in the Cathedrals of the New Foundation, appears with affecting earnestness in several passages of their statutes. The king's purpose in converting Monasteries into Cathedrals is "that where ignorance and superstition used to prevail there the pure worship of God should flourish, and the holy Gospel of Christ should be diligently and sincerely preached." And again: "Because the Word of God is a lanthorn unto our feet, we ordain and will that the Dean and our Canons, yea, we beseech them by the mercies of God, that they be instant in season and out of season in sowing the Word of God, as elsewhere, so especially in this our cathedral church."†

In these statutes of the cathedrals of the New Foundation, the two essential elements that go to make up the idea of a school of prophets—collegiate life and devotion to God's Word—find truer expression than in the constitutions of the cathedrals of the Old Foundation. The mediæval spell of celibacy being broken, what had been *Cœnobitic* now becomes *Collegiate* life. And God's Word being no longer "bound," the duty of studying and proclaiming it is more prominently than ever enjoined on the cathedral chapter.

No one can read the statutes of the New, or the reformed statutes of the Old Cathedrals, without discerning the spirit if not the hand of Cranmer. And the idea is ever the same, that the Church needed not only dissemination but also strong centres; that a pastoral parochial clergy did not suffice; that there was equal need also of *religious houses* in the land; that though the monasteries had been dissolved, yet the Church

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* Roberti Grossoteste, Epistolæ, 58 and 59, Mr. Luard's Edition.

† "Quia lucerna pedibus nostris est Verbum Dei, statuimus et volumus ut Decanus et Canonici nostri, immo per misericordiam Dei obsecramus, ut in Verbo Dei opportunè et importunè seminando sint soduli, cum alias, tum præcipuè in ecclesiâ nostrâ Cathedrali." —Statutes of Bristol.

still needed their analogue, and that this analogue might be supplied by her Cathedral Chapters.

Here all that was good in the monasteries was to be preserved, and what was evil was to be eschewed. Here the student of God's Word was to find the home he needed, the well-stored library, the common-table if he were a single man, if married his allowance, and still more the strengthening influence of communion with congenial minds. The Chancellor of the church—a member of the chapter in the old foundations—was the "*archischola*" or "*magister scholarum*," and was to give lectures on theology; the Precentor, also a member of the chapter in the elder cathedrals, was charged with the training of the choir; a third member of the body was Treasurer, and took upon himself the administration of the church's temporalities, so as to leave the rest free for their more spiritual duties. The Grammar Master, well skilled in Greek and Latin, was to teach the youths of the diocese, and to encourage the more promising to look forward to the service of the Church. All the Canons were to be diligent in preaching. This being their special task, they might devolve on *Vicars Choral* (called Minor Canons in the new foundations) the intoning of the daily office. But for the preaching they were themselves responsible, both in the Cathedral and occasionally in the other churches of the diocese. One hundred days of absence were allowed to the Dean and *eighty* to each Canon, in the year, so that a large staff would always be in residence together. "Forasmuch as it is not expedient that the members should be very remote from the head, it is our will that as the Dean so the Canons also shall keep themselves at home, and be always resident within the precincts,* except some lawful impediment do prevent. . . . . As often as any Dean or Canon travels within fifteen miles of our church to preach, if he be absent one whole day, he shall however receive the profits of that day, the same as if he had been at home; if he goes to preach more than fifteen miles, and less than twenty-four miles from our church, he shall receive the same emoluments which they have who remain at home, though he be absent two full days."†

* *In nostrâ ecclesiâ.* Ecclesia is used for all within the Precincts. The Cathedral itself is called the Templum of the Ecclesia.

† Bristol Cathedral Statutes.

It is most instructive to note how carefully Cranmer endeavoured to preserve all that was best in the old cathedral constitutions. The ancient canon law had required "Quod in omni cathedrali ecclesiâ, ordinetur Magister qui scholares in grammaticâ informet, cui de ecclesiâ provideatur; quod Theologus etiam legat (give lectures) et sacerdotes et alios in sacrâ paginâ doceat, cui a capitulo unius præbendæ proventus assignetur."*

Agreeably with this ancient requirement, Cranmer, not content with his cathedral Grammar Master, proposed "that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers or lecturers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew; and a great number of students, to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion, whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all parts of his diocese."†

Thus, to repeat it once more, and it can hardly be too often repeated, Cranmer's conception of a Cathedral Chapter was a College of divines bound together by their common religious life and by their devotion to the Word of God.

Their common religious life was to find expression in their daily worship, in their frequent councils, and in the constant intercourse of their families one with another within the precincts; their devotion to God's Word was to show itself in their preaching, their lectures, and the studious occupation of their leisure time.

One other element entered also into the idea of the reformed cathedral. The ancient connexion between the Bishop and the Chapter was to be restored. Before the time of Dunstan, while the cathedrals were in the hands of the secular clergy, the chapter was a *diocesan council*,‡ and possessed the confidence of the Bishop. But when the regulars had supplanted the seculars in nearly all the cathedrals, and the strife between

* Quoted by the Commissioners from Bromyard's Summa Prædicantium.

† Burnet, Hist. Reform., A.D. 1540. "The great design was to make cathedrals nurseries of young divines for the service of the Church, who, being framed upon the study of Divinity under the immediate inspection of bishops, deans, and chapters, might be employed by them in the cures of the respective dioceses." Bishop Gibson, quoted by the Cath. Commiss. p. xxiv. Bishop Burnet carried out this design, maintaining at his own charge a small nursery of students in Divinity at Salisbury.

‡ "Senatus et consilium episcopi."

the two was embittering the Church—as the grotesque carvings of our Edwardian cathedrals and the poems of Chaucer abundantly testify—the cathedral chapters became estranged from diocesan interests. Now that they were composed of secular Canons once more, in frequent and hospitable intercourse with the parochial clergy of the diocese, it was obvious that they should again become the council of the Bishop—the *σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, as Hooker calls them, quoting from Zonaras—in the administration of the diocese.

With this view we find Bishop Scambler writing to Queen Elizabeth:—"That kind of foundation (cathedral chapters) implieth alway a society of learned men, staied and grounded in all parts of religion, apt to preach the Gospel and convince errors and heresies, which in the singleness of opinion (where particular men over particular churches, as pastors, are set within the diocese of which it is chief) may happen to arise; and further to assist the Bishop, the head of the diocese in all godly and wholesome consultations; inasmuch that the cathedral church ought to be as it were the oracle of the whole diocese, and a light unto all places lying near it."

This extract admirably expresses the mind and intention of our Elizabethan Reformers:—*the cathedral chapters, so far as altered circumstances might allow, were to live the life and do the work of the schools of the Prophets of an older day.*

All Christian antiquity bore witness to the need of some such element in church organization—cloistered houses for the more studious clergy, who might strengthen the hands of the Bishop as the council of his diocese, and whence might issue from time to time really gifted preachers of God's Word.

All who have thought deeply on the nature of that precious gift which one of its greatest masters (Jeremy Taylor) loved to call by its scriptural name, "the gift of prophesying," know well that three conditions are eminently conducive, if not essential, to it:—

1st. A large devotion of time to the study of God's Word.

2nd. An independent position, aloof from the distracting cares of parochial and other business.

3rd. The elevating and solemnizing influences of sacred music. "Bring me a minstrel," said Elisha, "and it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him.

—How many an eloquent preacher would confess that some of his most inspired thoughts were conceived while listening to the sacred music of the daily office!

Most wrong it would be to underrate the preaching of the parish clergyman, or to forget that his life supplies to him the yet more essential training of the dying man's chamber, and of conflict with the Evil One in many a dark haunt of sin; sermons drawn from these experiences will ever be best for the purposes of pastoral work. But the Church has need of other preachers also, preachers to the age, prophets who will "cry aloud and spare not," equal to the vindication of God's truth on higher and more public platforms, men of God who will step to the front in times of doubt and difficulty, and speak the word for which a thousand hearts are waiting, and speak it with the power of one who has thought long and deeply.

And if we are to have such men in our emergency, we must have our *Schools of Prophets* as part of our constituted order. It was the hope and prayerful purpose of the "single-hearted Cranmer"* that the Cathedrals of the Reformed Church should fulfil this function. But that this has been most imperfectly realized, must with sorrow be admitted.

Sarum, it is true, can boast the names of Hooker, Pearson, and Barrow among its Prebendaries; Hammond and South were Canons of Christchurch; Bishop Andrews had been Dean of Westminster; Bishop Hall of Worcester; Gloucester claimed Bishop Bull; and Bristol her Waterland, Butler, Newton, and Warburton: and this list might be much extended. Still none of these cathedrals had been to them the fostering home, the *alma mater*, that Cranmer intended them to be.

Strange to say, the statutes of Henry VIII., though delivered to the cathedrals, were never *indented*, and were pronounced void by 1 Mary, sess. 3, c. 9. Elizabeth's statutes were never confirmed. Abuses quickly crept in; and the most disastrous of all, the abuse of non-residence, was actually sanctioned in the next century by the Laudian statutes. When Archbishop Laud, in evil hour, obliged the Canons to reside for the greater part of each year upon their benefices, he blighted the life of our Cathedral system.

* Professor Blunt's Reformation in England.

"It will be evident on the slightest consideration how materially the whole system of the cathedral churches must have been affected by this departure from the rules of the old cathedrals, which required the constant residence of the Dean and three principal officers and a certain number of Canons; and from the statutes of King Henry VIII., which prescribed to the Dean and all the Canons of the New Foundation the same rule of constant residence, allowing only a limited time of absence, and required the perpetual presence of a certain portion of the body." *

It is hardly too much to say that from this one source—the non-residence of the Canons, thus deliberately sanctioned in the evil days of the seventeenth century—are deducible all the misdoings which have undermined and threatened with ruin the cathedral system of the English Church. The abuse of patronage, the political jobbery, the neglect of the fabrics, the decay of reverence, the comparative uselessness for diocesan purposes, and lastly (who can wonder?) the ruthless diversion of the funds to other purposes, all is traceable to the absenteeism of those who were, or ought to have been, most interested to avert these evils. When a house is abandoned by its proper owners, what wonder if it be despoiled by aliens? Were it not that our Cathedrals were so picturesque in their ruin, they would have been long ago swept away by the "improvement commissioners" of the nineteenth century.

But they continued standing. All through those faithless years, while a damp and chilly gloom was creeping over their lower spaces, still—rising by their very vastness into a purer region, where God's sunlight rested on them—their towers and spires seemed to bear their witness that His Providence was reserving them for better days and holier uses. Some whispers of the old prophecy seemed to linger along their aisles, saying, "Again in this place, which ye say shall be desolate, shall be heard the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of them that shall bring the sacrifice of praise unto the house of the Lord."

Signs are not wanting that those better days are dawning. Even now, guided by the genius of a Scott, a Street, a Butter-

* Cathedral Commission, First Report.

field, reverent hands are everywhere restoring our Cathedrals to their pristine beauty. Possibly this is from mixed motives; possibly it is due in part to the historical instincts of the age we live in, and our reviving love of what is beautiful in art.

But it is not all. Wherever Churchmen meet together the question is being discussed how best we may turn to account these grand old fabrics and their large endowments. Possibly fear has something to do with this. The terrible conscientiousness of our modern policy, confiscating everything old which cannot show a reason for its being—and a reason, be it observed, such as our generation may happen to comprehend—is compelling every one to set his house in order on pain of ejection; and explains the many crude schemes of cathedral reform that have been of late propounded:—"Give them all city parishes;" or "Give them all diocesan work, let one be archdeacon, another inspector of schools, another head of the training college;" and so forth:—suggestions which surely condemn at once the institutions which they are intended to justify. For if the members of our Chapters must needs thus go abroad, out of the confines of their own proper sphere, to seek their work, it is thereby confessed that their stalls are sinecures.

It is not, therefore, on these busy proposals for "utilizing"* our cathedral funds, nor on the mere restoration of the fabrics, that our confidence for the future rests.

There is a far surer augury of good. At the very time when our Cathedral Chapters, with quickened conscience, are confessing their desire for work,—at the very time when our restored naves and choirs are revealing capabilities for undeveloped uses,—at this very time a cry and a demand are being heard from every diocese of the English Church, which our cathedrals and our cathedral chapters alone can satisfy.

The cry is, Where are we to look for our future supply of Clergy? And the demand is for Schools of Divinity, such as our universities once were, but are evidently ceasing to be.

Our ancient Universities are (rightly, perhaps,) being more and

* The frequent use or abuse of this ugly word in modern talk is highly characteristic of the *utilitarian* spirit of much of our reform. All our endowments are to be "utilized," i. e. turned to *present* account; whereas the very meaning of an endowment is that we should take the *past* and *future* also into our counsels. We have read of one who thus "utilized" his birthright, and lived to regret it.

more nationalized. Their colleges are ceasing to be in any special sense seminaries of the Church. In harmony with this movement their faculty of Divinity may be expected to become exegetical and historical rather than dogmatic or doctrinal. But can the Church dispense with the dogmatic training of her ministers? Or rather was it ever more needed? Why, half the doctrinal controversies that divide us would cease, if a larger number of the clergy were competent to define the terms they use!

We are threatened with disaster:—Dogmatic Theology, the noblest of studies, and once occupying the very van of thought, is falling into disrepute, because, while other studies are becoming more and more severe and scientific, this is becoming daily more loose and unscientific. It fails to attract our intellectual youth, because it fails to command their respect. That numbers of men, disciplined by the severe studies of the Universities, would continue to seek ordination, if only the special studies of the clergyman were brought up to the level of other schools of scientific thought, may be confidently expected. To despair of this, is to be disloyal either to theology or to England's youth. We invent twenty other explanations of the failure of intellectual candidates for ordination because we are ashamed to confess the true explanation. If the English Church is to attract the intellect of the nation, she must have her specific schools of theology. Where is she to establish them?

Cranmer said, in our Cathedral institutions. His experiment (as we have seen) was never fairly tried. Is it too late?

It is *not* too late. Mutilated, decayed, defaced though it be, still enough remains of the noble edifice that Cranmer planned to enable us to restore and complete his idea. In the very names yet written on our walls his purpose lives. In the "College Green," where these pages are being penned, in the adjoining "College Street," in the name of "College" still given by old folk to our group of buildings, we are reminded of the collegiate life he meant us to live, and of the collegiate work he meant us to perform.

In the statutes that still nominally govern the Cathedrals of the New Foundation, the lines laid down by that "wise master-builder" may still be traced, and will abundantly suffice to guide us in building up once more the "Cathedral College" of the nineteenth century.

But the "hay and stubble" with which subsequent legislation has overlaid them must be cleared away.

1. The legislative sanction given to the Canons' non-residence during the greater portion of each year must be repealed. They must no longer hold other benefices.

2. Is it too much to ask the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to restore and re-endow out of their surplus funds the confiscated canonries, wherever and whenever it can be shown that the existing staff is insufficient for the work to be done?*

3. The work to be done by Cathedral Canons, as prescribed by the sixteenth-century statutes and injunctions, must be defined anew, and so far modified as to bring it into harmony with the present needs of the Church.

4. The appointment to canonries must be so regulated as to ensure the competence of the Canons to discharge their specific duties as thus defined.

Of these four heads of reform, clearly the third—the work to be done by Cathedral Canons—is the all-important one. But, as has been said, the lines are already laid down for us. They may be plainly traced in the preamble (for instance) of the Elizabethan statutes of Ely.

The work of the Chapter, as there prescribed, may be conveniently arranged under *five* heads.

1. The daily worship of God: "*Ut sincerus Dei cultus vigeat.*" The ordering of this may best be left to the Dean; he is the *ordinarius ecclesiæ.* On this, therefore, we need not now dwell. The Canons will of course, as a rule, be present at the daily service and take part in it. Daily choral worship is essential to the idea of a school of prophets. For leading the musical part of the service the Canons will not be responsible, devolving it on their "Vicars-choral."† But in order yet further to link together the interests of the Vicars-choral with those of the chapter, and to introduce a musical element into the counsels of the Chapter, it might be well that, as now in Cathe-

* Fortunately there is a provision in the Cathedral Act, that wherever an endowment of £200 a year can be raised, one of the suppressed canonries may be restored.

† The "Vicars-choral" of the cathedrals of the Old Foundation correspond to the "Minor Canons" of the New. It is much to be desired that the absurd term "Minor Canons" should be dropped.

drals of the Old Foundation, so henceforth in all, the Precentor should have a Canon's stall, and further that he should be always chosen from among the Vicars-choral.

2. Diligent preaching. "*Ut sanctum Christi Evangelium assiduè et purè per doctos et graves viros prædicari possit.*" It would be well that on Sundays, besides the sermon of the Communion office, which one of the Canons would always preach, another sermon should be preached in the nave, in the afternoon, after the manner of the University sermons; whether there should be a third at even-song might be left open to discretion. On Wednesdays and Fridays there might be an evening sermon, also in the nave, with shortened even-song. Many of the overtasked clergy of the parish churches of our larger cities might be glad to discontinue their evening week-day sermons, if the need were met by a sermon in the cathedral. Four or five sermons a week might well be thus undertaken, and yet leave one or more of the Canons free to take occasional preaching duty in the churches of the diocese in accordance with the express injunction of their statutes.*

But all this will be of no avail unless the preaching be really of a high order of excellence. The Church needs urgently that the gift of "prophesying" be once more specially cultivated, as a distinct gift, by some among her ministers. On our Cathedral Clergy this duty is emphatically laid; they and they only have leisure for the severe study which it requires. Hence their third work:—

3. Study, and along with it the giving of lectures on divinity to younger men. They are to emulate the "*exquisita linguarum et scientiarum cognitio*" of the elder monasteries; "*ut hæreses et prava dogmata reprimi et expurgari queant; præterea ut ad Christianæ fidei et pietatis incrementa, juventus (quæ regni nostri seminarium existit) in bonis literis rectè instituatur.*"

In a word, the Canons are to be professors of divinity in all

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* "In the Ecclesiastical Canons of 1603 a general direction is given, that the Dean and Canons shall 'preach in other churches of the diocese.' . . . As every parish is now provided with a minister licensed to preach, the above provision is not so necessary as in former times; but the occasional ministrations of the cathedral clergy in the parishes of the diocese, at the request of the incumbents, may still afford a very important help to the parochial clergy, and tend to the increase of their influence and the strengthening of the bonds of unity in the diocese."—Cath. Com. Rep. p. xxi.

its branches, but especially of dogmatic theology; and as such, are to gather round them groups of younger men, and prepare them for ordination.*

This giving of lectures should be the very staple of the Canon's work. All professed students know how desultory study is apt to become, unless the task of teaching go along with it. Even if the professor's industry need no such stimulus, still we all know that stores of learning are seldom digested or assimilated unless they have to be reproduced and simplified for younger minds. We know, too, how many a precious book would have been lost to literature had not the rough draft of its chapters been required for a course of lectures.

But, as we have already seen, such lectures are urgently needed for the sake of our candidates for ordination. And here some further definition is needed, lest any should think that it is merely the diocesan Theological College over again that is here recommended.

The Theological Colleges have, with two or three striking exceptions, imperfectly fulfilled the hopes of their promoters; and their imperfect success is most instructive. It has been ascribed to three causes principally:—

First, instead of being supplemental to University training they have in some cases been used as substitutes for it, and so come to be viewed as cheaper and inferior avenues to ordination.

Next, each college, being dependent for its efficiency on the devotion and personal influence of some one man, has been apt to take its colour too exclusively from that one man.

And *thirdly*, owing to the insufficiency of their pecuniary resources, there has been no security for their continued efficiency.

Would these objections apply to them, if we boldly incorporated them with our Cathedral institutions—the Cathedral itself becoming in fact the Theological College?

First. The paramount importance of University training for our clergy was well put by the present Master of Trinity

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* There is of course another educational work included in the terms of the above quotation—that of the cathedral grammar master; but with this the present essay is not concerned. That the training of candidates for Holy Orders was specially intended is proved by the extracts from Cranmer and Gibson given above (p. 42).

College, Cambridge, in his evidence before the Cathedral Commissioners:—

"It appears to me that whatever be the shortcomings of our clergy in theological knowledge, there is no country in Europe in which, on the whole, the laity entertain so hearty a respect for religion and its ministers as our own; nor is there any, I am persuaded, in which so many well-instructed Christians are to be found among the laity. This inestimable advantage I am disposed to attribute in great measure to the joint education of both classes, to the lasting friendships formed at the University, and the mutual respect and sympathy thence arising. By these causes our clergy are rendered more tolerant, our laity more religious; and I should therefore look with dismay upon any scheme of compulsory clerical education which should have the effect of sundering the two classes."

By all means, therefore, let the broad foundation of a liberal education be still insisted on for our clergy. But need this any longer mean that they shall be exclusively Oxford and Cambridge men? Since the above evidence was given great changes have taken place. The Endowed Schools Commissioners are opening up a career for poor students from the humblest schools to the highest. He who heretofore could only hope to be a *Literate*, that is, a self-taught man, will soon be able to win his way inexpensively into the highest forms of our Classical Schools. One who, up to his eighteenth or nineteenth year, has had the advantage of such a school-career, and who then, unable to afford the cost of University life, has been for two or three years a diligent student under the frugal discipline of a Cathedral College, would be in every way better qualified for Holy Orders than the *Literate* who now presents himself for ordination. With such students should by all means be mingled graduates from the Universities. For these last, a year or two spent under the shadow of one of our cathedrals in well-directed study, would surely be most beneficial, deepening and solemnizing, without narrowing, the character.

But, *secondly*, there must be variety and breadth of teaching. One of the Canons will excel in pastoral theology; another might catechize in Butler, Bull, Pearson, or Hooker; or be lecturing on St. Paul's epistles; or conducting a Hebrew class. And in this work the Vicars-choral might take part. It might

still further tend to obviate any accidental narrowness of teaching, if Dean Jeremie's advice were followed, and periodic examinations were held by the Divinity Professors of the Universities, such examinations being conducted on the plan of the *local examination* scheme.*

The *third* disadvantage under which the theological colleges labour—want of funds—would of course be avoided by thus incorporating the college with the Cathedral system and its endowments.

Could the grand old idea be thus revived and realized, that every Cathedral is a college of divines, devoted to the scientific study and propagation of theology, not only would the demand of better training for our clergy be met and satisfied, but also these severer studies would react on the lecturers, and give depth and power to their preaching; and in her cathedrals the English Church would have, what she so sorely needs, her *schools of prophets.*

But this leads on to the *fourth* province of cathedral work, as prescribed by the sixteenth-century statutes:—

4. Ministering to the poor. "*Ut pauperes ibidem perpetuo sustententur.*" †

The support of a few pensioners or widows by no means fulfils the pious purpose of the sixteenth-century reformers.

They clearly intended that every cathedral should have a small cure of souls. And to sustain the spiritual tone of a preacher some small amount of ministry among the sick and dying is most necessary. How is this to be provided for our Cathedral Clergy? Perhaps the simplest plan would be to affiliate the Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Almshouses of the city to the Cathedral; and charge the Canons with the duty of visiting them ministerially. Not only would this ministry among the sick and dying help to sustain the spiritual tone of the Cathedral Clergy, but also it would lessen their present too frequent estrangement from the parochial interests of the city; and another link would be established connecting the Cathedral with the diocese. And this brings us to the fifth and last function of the Cathedral Chapter:—

* Appendix to the Cath. Commissioners' Report, p. 836.
† Preamble to the Elizabethan Statutes of Ely, as above.

5. They are to be the Bishop's council: "*Qui ad exemplum primitivæ ecclesiæ loco presbyterii episcopo in omnibus gravioribus causis adesse possint.*"*

Not only would the revival of this function of the Chapter strengthen the hands of the Bishop; but the effect on the Dean and Chapter would be most salutary, redeeming them from their present most unwholesome irresponsibility for all matters of diocesan concern.

And here we are at once face to face with a question of the gravest importance: whether it would not be well to assimilate the Cathedrals of the New Foundation to those of the Old in the matter of the "larger chapter."

The honorary canonries created by the recent Cathedral Act are merely nominal offices. Let their name be changed to "Prebendaries" to distinguish them from the Canons residentiary, as in the Old Foundation Cathedrals. And to justify the name, let a *prebend* be once more attached to each such stall. It need not be large, a mere *sumptus* to cover the expense of attending the great chapters, say 50*l.* per annum. Without this, such attendances would be burdensome to the clergy of distant parishes.

The periodic assembling in the chapter-room of these "larger chapters" to choose the Proctors, to elect the Bishop, to support him on great occasions, to act as his diocesan council, would go far to establish the cathedral in the confidence and affections of the diocesan clergy.

Such, then, seems to have been the work intended for the capitular clergy by the Reformers of the sixteenth century; and such, too, the work which the nineteenth century most urgently demands of them: 1, daily worship; 2, diligent preaching; 3, advancement of theology; 4, ministering to the sick; 5, acting as their Bishop's council.

The reader will have anticipated the concluding recommendation of the essay, without which all else would be in vain.

The appointments to residentiary stalls must be strictly regulated.

Supposing the full complement of six stalls to be restored,

* Preamble of Ely Statutes.

one might be reserved for the PRECENTOR, to be elected by the chapter from among their Vicars-choral; *another* for the TREASURER, who must be a man of business-like habits and administrative ability, to assist the Dean in the care of the fabric and property of the church. As the nation has an interest in the stewardship of these endowments, the appointment to this stall should in all cathedrals rest with the Crown.

A *third* stall should be filled by the CHANCELLOR or head lecturer* of the church, who should always be one who had become eminent as a preacher, a preference being given to those who had been more than once chosen as "select preachers" by the Universities. The appointment might rest with the Archbishop of the province.

The holders of the *fourth, fifth,* and *sixth* stalls should be PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY, and might be appointed by the Bishop of the diocese from among his own clergy, only with this limitation, that the nominee must write a theological thesis in Latin, to be approved by the Regius Professors of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge.

The Archdeacons should always be Prebendaries, but not Canons residentiary of the cathedral, their active duties being incompatible with the heavy sedentary duties thus imposed on the smaller chapter.

The constitution here sketched, turning our cathedral establishments into *schools of preaching* and *seminaries for the ministry,* has been purposely presented in its complete form, because it is always well to define the idea towards which we wish to be working. A full complement of six Canons, each having specific duties, a readjustment of cathedral patronage, a restoration of the larger chapter, a hostelry for younger students,—all this may seem much to ask, requiring, not merely an amendment of the Cathedral Acts, but also some further demand upon the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

But it must be carefully observed that there is nothing to prevent any cathedral chapter *commencing* these reforms *at*

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* "Archischola," or "Magister Scholarum," as he is called in the Old Statutes; to be carefully distinguished from the Chancellor of the Diocese.

once, without waiting for additional funds or for fresh legislation.

There is no reason why a Cathedral Canon should not at once gather round him a group of candidates for ordination, hire a house for them within the precincts, and give them instruction in the chapter-room or in his dining-room. There is nothing to prevent him asking one of the Minor Canons or Vicars-choral to assist him in this work. Or again, where a theological college already exists, there is nothing to prevent a Bishop, who has the patronage of the cathedral canonries, collating the Principal to the next vacant stall, and so, in fact, incorporating the theological college with the Cathedral. In either of these ways a beginning might be made; if it answered, and if in the men thus trained under the shadow of the Cathedral the Bishop found an accession of strength to the clerical ranks of his diocese, he would be sure to have an eye to the continuance of this collegiate work in future appointments to canonries, selecting men for the stalls of theological eminence, and stipulating for their residence all the year round in the cathedral precincts. The success of such self-reformed Cathedrals would attract public attention; and in a few years legislative reform for all our Cathedrals would be comparatively easy.

The perfect harmony of such a scheme of work for our Cathedrals, not only with their old traditions, but also with the confessed needs of the day, seems to justify its recommendation.

A blessed thing indeed it would be for Christ's Church in England, if what are now deemed by some her weakest points could thus be made her strongest centres, schools of prophets, restoring theology to its proper place among the studies of the age, and so attracting once more to the Church's ministry the ripest intellect of the nation.

J. P. NORRIS.

ESSAY III.

CATHEDRALS IN IRELAND,
PAST AND FUTURE.

BY THE DEAN OF CASHEL.

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Cathedrals as training-schools for junior clergy.
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Probable result of this plan.
Legislation about Cathedrals.

CATHEDRALS IN IRELAND,

THEIR PAST AND FUTURE.

Non est vivere, sed valere, vita.

If we ask a layman, who has not directed his attention specially to ecclesiastical affairs, what is the nature and use of a Cathedral; he will probably reply that it is a church of more than ordinary size and architectural pretensions, where Choral Service is maintained by the payment of professional singers. As to its use, if he be a lover of church music, he will perhaps value it chiefly for the performance of anthems and services, which could not be performed by a voluntary choir. Perhaps also he may speak of Cathedrals (at least in England) as holding out prizes for learning, and giving leisure for study to the more literary members of the clerical profession.

If from the average layman we turn to ecclesiastical reformers, and put the same question to them, we shall find that many of them value Cathedrals chiefly as being capable, by a little skilful manipulation, of yielding a surplus revenue for any favourite project in contemplation. No doubt they would express a willingness to leave enough for the use of the Cathedrals, and to spare a few prizes to reward theological merit; but beyond this their plans are generally either meagre or destructive. The noble buildings with their numerous staff and historical prestige cannot be ignored; but they are singularly unaccommodating to modern schemes. They are like the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture which could not be squeezed through the door of his modest parlour. Most of the plans proposed, though suggesting many useful improve-

ments, seem to embody no principle of general application, but to be mere pieces of patchwork, generally at variance with the design of the original projectors.

The truth is that the grand building, the numerous staff of clergy and choristers, and the stately choral service, are not essential parts of the Cathedral idea. They are but the drapery in which the original institution has been clothed. In some cases the original idea has been so wholly lost, that these things resemble a set of magnificent robes which have been hung upon a wooden frame, instead of adding to the dignity and grace of some living wearer. Reformers have too often sought only to alter the ornaments or curtail the length of the robes, instead of first restoring them to their true purpose, and making alterations in entire subordination to the needs of the wearer.*

I propose to base all plans for the future upon an enquiry into the true nature of the Cathedral institution, and its applicability to the wants of the present day. If there be no grand Christian idea underlying our Cathedral system, or if that idea be unsuited to the age in which we live; we must only assent to some of the proposals for redistributing the Cathedral revenues (where such exist) and utilizing the fabrics as best we may.

This question, like so many others which affect the Church in England, demands an immediate solution in Ireland. But the circumstances which condition the problem, are widely different in the two countries. The revenues of the Irish Cathedrals (in all only 31,000*l.* a year) have been swept away by the Irish Church Act. The buildings are, with few exceptions, of moderate size and unpretending architecture; and of the six or seven Cathedrals which possessed a choir of stipendiary singers probably not half that number can keep up choral service, except by the aid of volunteers. If we add to

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* "A Cathedral is, as every one knows who has thought ever so little upon the matter, both a building and an institution. As a building, it is supposed to fulfil certain architectural and artistic conditions, and as an institution, to carry out certain religious and charitable objects. * * * "It must not be supposed, because the point of view from which I take my general survey stands rather within the limits of the architectural ground, that I consider this the more important aspect of the matter, as if the body existed for the raiment and not the raiment for the body."—The English Cathedral of the 19th Century, by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.P., pp. 1 and 3.

this the circumstance that most of the Irish Cathedrals are Parish Churches, it is easy to foresee that they will become in fact no more than ordinary parish churches, except in name, unless they can make good their claim to a higher mission and a more useful place in the church system, than has been usually accorded to them by the popular voice.

There are three leading elements which enter into our church organization;—the Episcopate, the Capitular Bodies, and the Parochial Clergy. The last of these has almost engrossed public attention in our time. Indeed an exclusive reliance upon the parochial system for doing the Church's work, has become one of the ecclesiastical superstitions of the 19th century. No one of sense will undervalue the parochial system, or maintain that any church is efficiently worked unless every one of its members is placed under the direct charge of some clergyman who is responsible for his spiritual instruction. But notwithstanding its importance, the parochial system is only one of the elements of our church organization, and it is unfortunate that our efforts for church extension have been so exclusively concentrated upon it. Even the Episcopate, in subordination to this view, is often regarded too much as a meagre system of parish supervision intended to act as a check and stimulus to the parochial clergy, but little more. The third element—the Cathedral, has no place at all in the ordinary popular view of church work; and if men consent to retain Cathedrals because they do not see what else to do with them, few advocate the extension of the system or think of finding in it a remedy for the existing deficiences of our church work.

It seems scarcely necessary to prove that the Parochial system has failed to do all the Church's work. It has, when used exclusively, one great inherent defect. It tends to isolate the Pastor, and so far as it does so, it is unfavourable to a high development of spiritual life and energy. Its most ardent admirers must acknowledge its tendency, where it does not produce separate action, to sink to a monotonous dead level of dull uniformity. In Ireland, on account of the church population being sparse, and the parishes large, the tendency of the system to separation and isolation was greatly aggravated. Parochial work was little more than the efforts of an individual to benefit individuals or families. Co-operative work, either

within the parish or on a wider scale, was difficult and rare. All these evils are likely to increase in consequence of the loss of endowments. The number of clergy, at least in three provinces of Ireland, will be greatly diminished, and their distance from one another proportionally increased. In some cases, on account of the extent of his parish, the clergyman will be more like a travelling missionary than a resident pastor. It is easy to foresee the evils and dangers of such a state of things. Let us see if the Cathedrals can supply that strength and unity which are imperiled under a parochial system thus attenuated and weakened.

Let us remember then that the parochial system is not the oldest form of church organization. The primitive arrangement made the Diocese, not the Parish, the unit of church action. No doubt a Diocese was at first nothing more than a populous parish. One bishop presided over the Christian population of every important city; and though he might be assisted in his work by a large staff of presbyters and deacons, his authority was not divided. *He* was the Pastor, and his Cathedral the parish church of the city and its suburbs. Congregations, when gathered in the vicinity, were served by the clergy of the cathedral. As the conquests of Christianity extended, and the *Pagani*, or villagers, became Christians, pastors were located in the outlying districts. Thus the parochial grew out of the cathedral system. It supplemented but was still subordinate to it.

In England the process was in the main the same, though somewhat different in details. In Anglo-Saxon times the bishops and consequently the cathedrals, properly so-called, were not so numerous. But there were generally several minsters, or collegiate churches of a cathedral character, under the same bishop.

Archdeacon Stopford thus describes the minster system: "It is probable that a purely diocesan system was introduced by Augustine into England."

"The laws of Æthelbirht, established in the days of Augustine, mention the church, bishops, priests, deacons, clerks—nothing but what belonged to a purely diocesan system."

"The minster appears first in the laws of King Wihtræd, A.D. 694. It appears also in the laws of Alfred and Ina."

"It is clear that the minster early became the system of the Anglo-Saxon Church. It was of the nature of a collegiate church having cure of souls in a large district; and differed from the purely diocesan system in that there were several minsters in a diocese, each having its own district, and ruled by its own 'abbot' who was subject to the bishop. The system appears to have been analogous to the *χωρεπίσκοποι* of the 8th Canon of Nice, and the *ἀγροικικάς παροικίας* * *ἢ ἐγχωρίους* of the 17th Canon of Chalcedon."

"All the inhabitants of a district were bound to pay all tithes and church dues to the minster."

"The first relaxation of the minster system in England was the concession (about A.D. 970) that a Thane who had a church with a burial-place (which must have been granted by the bishop) might pay one-third of his tithe to his own church and the other two-thirds to the minster; but if he had a church without a burial-place (a chapel, as we should now call it) he must support his clerk himself."

"The clerk by degrees acquired a *shrift district*, perhaps influenced or determined by the extent of the Thane's territory."

Archdeacon Stopford thus describes the manner in which the minsters were gradually supplanted by the parochial clergy.

"The decline of the minster system is difficult to be traced but easy to be conceived. Once it was granted that Thanes might have the privilege of burial for their own churches it was inevitable, except under strong restraint, that a new and powerful interest should grow up in rivalry to the minsters; and when that was working, the Norman bishops came in with the strong desire to convert the ancient minsters into '*regular*' monasteries, such as had already grown up abroad. For this purpose it was necessary to divest the minsters of the cure of souls. It was in the power of the Norman bishops to promote the change by a popular measure, most accordant with the policy of the conquerors, of granting the right of burial to every Thane's church. Such a method would inevitably accomplish the result; and yet would leave no record behind except the result. No record but the result remains. The ancient minsters became modern '*regular*' monasteries, with-

* *I.e.* country *dioceses*, not parishes.

drawn alike from the cure of souls and the jurisdiction of the bishop; and the Thanes' clerks became the parochial and diocesan clergy." *

Thus to Monasticism may be traced the origin of the two anomalies which form leading counts in every bill of indictment against the cathedrals. The first is that they are practically cut off from the active work of the diocese, and take no part in the cure of souls. The other, that they constitute an *imperium in imperio* fatal to the unity of diocesan action.

In Ireland, the course of change which led to the establishment of the parochial system, and the present position of the Cathedrals, is still more obscure. The early Irish Church was remarkable for the great number of its bishops. St. Patrick was said to have consecrated 365.† This predominance of the Episcopate seems to have been a mark of all churches that were founded in very early times. It is, however, tolerably certain that few of these bishops had any regular sees. Some of them were merely missionaries; others were attached to monastic establishments, in subordination to the abbot, even though *he* might only be a presbyter. It is well known that St. Brigid had a bishop attached to her convent at Kildare, for the performance of such offices as belong solely to the episcopal order; but Dr. Todd thinks it "equally clear that she had her bishop under her own jurisdiction." ‡ The oldest catalogues (which, however, do not carry us back more than a century before the English invasion) give the names of less than forty sees. There are still in Ireland, notwithstanding repeated reductions of the episcopate, thirty-two distinct dioceses, and nearly the same number of churches which bear the title of Cathedral. We know little of their ancient constitution, as the Cathedral system of England (of the Old Foundation) everywhere superseded and obliterated the traces of more ancient usage. Salisbury appears to have supplied the pattern upon which the capitular bodies were remodeled. § We get a glimpse perhaps of the ancient state of things, more

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* Stopford's Ecclesiastical Law, p. 46-50.

† The ancient Catalogue of Irish Saints gives 350, in the time of St. Patrick, "*all bishops, founders of churches.*"—Todd, p 88.

‡ Todd's Memoirs of St. Patrick, p. 13.

§ Canon Jebb on Choral Service. Section 7.

in harmony with a diocesan system, in the fact that, until the Reformation, the corporation of Down cathedral consisted of *bishop*, prior and convent, and archdeacon.* No Bishop in Ireland now has a seat in any chapter, unless he is also a Prebendary; an anomalous position which is still held by the bishop in four of the existing Cathedrals.

What, then, is the idea of a Cathedral which emerges from the history of their origin and growth? It is *not* a church of pre-eminent size and beauty; though such would most naturally and fitly be the external embodiment of the Cathedral idea in rich and populous cities. It is *not* in an elaborate musical service, or indeed any service different in kind from that of other churches. The cathedral service ought to be the model service of the diocese, and if supported by greater wealth and a larger staff, would naturally be more perfect in everything which could impart dignity and solemnity to Christian worship. But the essence of the Cathedral idea consists no more in the beautiful music than in the beautiful architecture with which it is so fitly allied. Still less was a Cathedral institution intended to afford a home for learned leisure. The primitive Cathedral was the centre and focus of church work in the diocese, and the Cathedral clergy were especially the working bees, not the drones, of the diocesan hive. Nor again is the idea of a Cathedral realized in any collegiate body, whose members boast of their independence of episcopal control, and put forth their greatest energy in resisting any attempt upon the part of the bishop to interfere in their services or direct their duties. In one English diocese the Bishop always makes application to the Dean for the use of his Cathedral Church before he holds an ordination.† In others the right of the Bishop to preach in his Cathedral is only secured by a special provision in the statutes. In fact, the Bishop has sometimes little more power in the Cathedral (when not holding a formal visitation) than any member of the congregation; though he is seated on a throne, with a canopy, indicative of authority and precedence, over his head. No doubt he has the patronage of some (not all) of the highest Cathedral offices. By this patronage he is able to give to some substantial

* King's Church History of Ireland, p. 1134.
† Appendix to First Report of Cathedral Commission, p. 596.

rewards, and to enrol others in a kind of ecclesiastical "legion of honour," under the name of Honorary Canons. But all this is only a distortion of the primitive idea, not its genuine reflection. Let us see if we can form a juster conception of what a Cathedral ought to be.

As the primitive Cathedral was essentially the Bishop's church, distinguished from all others by having his throne (or *cathedra*) there; so the Cathedral clergy were his staff and his assistants in all church work. The Bishop was the pastor, the Cathedral the parish church of the whole diocese. What we call parish churches were at first only chapels of ease to the Cathedral, and the parochial clergy were merely assistants to the Bishop in discharging those spiritual functions for which he was primarily responsible. Even after the growth of the parochial system, the Cathedral was still the Mother Church and the Bishop the Rector of the Diocese, and the Cathedral clergy his immediate assistants. The modern idea, in exalting the parochial system, tends to lower the Episcopate to a mere system of inspection, and finds no useful place at all for the Cathedral clergy. If we are to reform our Cathedrals, we must restore them to their primitive purpose before we meddle with the mere accessories. The Bishop must be again more than a nominal head in his Cathedral, and he must have a staff of clergy whom he can control in the services of the Cathedral, and employ in various duties outside its walls. His Cathedral must be one of his chief instruments for influencing the spiritual life of his diocese. Then, whether the building be beautiful or plain, whether the music be elaborate or simple, it will be a Cathedral faithful to primitive ideas, and not a monastery, retaining wealth and leisure, after it had discarded celibacy and other monastic rules.

But the question at once arises—Is the primitive idea of a Cathedral, or any modification of it, better fitted to the wants of the nineteenth century than the monastic idea? Can the Cathedral ever be to a Diocese now what it was in more primitive times?

Of course the revival of any institution of another age in all its details would be impossible; and probably, even if possible, undesirable. But the great merit of an idea or institution consists in its capacity of adaptation to different ages and countries, while its essence remains unchanged. We are bold

enough to maintain that the primitive Cathedral can be so adapted, and that it is the best means within our reach of meeting the most pressing wants of the Church in our day.

Mr. Beresford Hope has ably maintained the necessity of not only upholding existing Cathedrals, but of extending the system, and establishing new Cathedrals, or Collegiate Churches, in the large manufacturing towns. He has shown conclusively the superiority of the collegiate to the parochial system in dealing with a dense and rapidly increasing population. It is not my intention to treat of this aspect of the question; but I wish to inquire whether an improved Cathedral system is fitted to meet the wants of a sparse church population like that of Ireland? In short, is it wise to allow the Irish Cathedrals to sink down into mere Parish Churches; or ought the Cathedral system to form an important element in the reorganization of that Church?

All the endowments of the Irish Church, whether devoted to the support of Bishops, Cathedrals, or Parochial Clergy, or the maintenance of fabrics and the payment of subordinate officers, have been alike swept away by the Irish Church Act. Great and praiseworthy efforts are being made to replace these endowments by voluntary munificence. But as yet attention has been devoted almost solely to one point, namely, keeping up a sufficient number of the parochial clergy to secure to every part of the country some degree of pastoral superintendence. In order to effect this it has generally been found necessary to unite several parishes in one, wherever the population is small. The result will be a parochial system, complete indeed, but so weakened and attenuated that the evils of separation and isolation will be greatly increased. No doubt some counterpoise to this is provided in the systematic co-operative action which has arisen out of the ruins of the establishment. Regular meetings of Vestries for real business; meetings of Representatives in Diocesan Councils and Synods, as well as in the General Synod of the whole Church, will effectually support that Church life which might die out if dependent solely upon an attenuated parochial ministration. But is this enough? Is it not capable of being greatly strengthened by a collegiate staff, placed in some central place in each diocese, and intimately connected with the action of all the parts? If the Diocese needs a head

in its Bishop, it needs equally a heart to keep alive a healthy circulation, and to send the warm currents of life to distant extremities, which might otherwise become cold and lifeless.

In short, if co-operative action and the collegiate system are needed to supplement the action of the parochial clergy in England, and to cope with the difficulties of a vast manufacturing population; the same agency is equally needed to hold together and give vitality to the scattered population, and the isolated clergy of the Irish Church. Let us consider how this can be done.

There is one circumstance which renders it impossible to apply the primitive idea of a Cathedral to England or Ireland without considerable modification of details. The Dioceses are of unwieldy size; and even if subdivided to the utmost extent contemplated by any Church reformer of our day, they would still be very unlike a primitive diocese. Except near populous cities, the rural parishes can never occupy the subordinate place, or be so dependent upon the Cathedral as in a primitive diocese. The Cathedral staff could never grasp the whole work of an English or Irish diocese; nor could outlying parishes (to any great extent) be served without resident ministers of their own. We must keep this in mind, if we would apply the Cathedral idea to our own times.

There are several functionaries in the existing Cathedrals, some of whom could, while others could not, take a share in any new scheme of diocesan work. First, there are the Prebendaries, or Honorary Canons, who hold stalls in the Cathedral, but have incessant and important duties in their parishes where they are bound to reside. They cannot be expected to occupy the same position in the Cathedral as in primitive times. Their chief duties lie elsewhere, and must be attended to. They cannot be the chief agents in diocesan as distinguished from parochial work. But it is important to make their interest in the Cathedral and their connection with it, real, and not almost nominal as heretofore. Every member of the Chapter ought to take some part in the services of his Cathedral; and days ought occasionally to be chosen for collecting together within its walls all who are connected with the chapter, and fostering that brotherly spirit and corporate life, without which a Cathedral is little better than an ecclesiastical mummy.

The same difficulty exists in Ireland with regard to the three dignitaries who rank next to the Dean, viz., the Precentor, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, who take the same place as that held by Canons in cathedrals of the New Foundation. They are at present, and (as there are no endowments for the dignitaries) must continue to be, like the Prebendaries, parochial clergymen having their principal duties at a distance from the Cathedral. What I have said of the prebendaries is therefore applicable to them. They cannot be made available for diocesan work to any large extent. This does not apply to the Archdeacon, who is at present the only dignitary who has distinctly diocesan functions.

I may remark, however, that the Canons of an English Cathedral might be separated from parochial duties, and placed at the head of diocesan work. Their endowments are generally sufficient to justify their whole time and labour being given to their Cathedral. Indeed, unless they become *bonâ fide* residents (for nine months instead of three), and unless they find new and important functions at the centre of the diocese, they will find it hard to vindicate their right to exist at all, or to escape the pruning knife of modern reform. The case of the disendowed dignitaries of Irish Cathedrals is altogether different.

But though the other dignitaries of an Irish Cathedral must be generally non-resident, and therefore able to take a very limited share in its work, the Dean ought never to be absent from his cathedral except for needful intervals of rest. Where (as so often in Ireland) the Cathedral is also a parish church, the office of Rector of the parish ought to belong to the Dean. It is so in most cases, but not in all. All the reforms proposed with reference to other parts of the institution will fail unless there is an efficient resident head, to whom (in subordination to the bishop) the whole management of the staff is entrusted. A question has arisen in the legislation for the Irish Church, whether, if it be desirable (as seems generally agreed) that the Bishop should be supreme in his own Cathedral, it is wise to call the chief of his staff by the name of *Dean*, a title hitherto associated with a more independent jurisdiction. Many thought that it would be wiser to unite the offices of Bishop and Dean, and to give some other title to the presbyter who is to combine the duties of chief of the chapter and pastor

of the cathedral parish. However, the feeling is so strong against sinking any old title, and divesting of its honours a church which has been stripped of its emoluments, that the name of *Dean* is likely to be retained. With less of independence than other parish clergymen, the Dean will hold a more influential position than ever, if the Cathedrals enter upon a new career of usefulness.

But if the members of the chapter (with the exception of the Dean and Archdeacon) can no longer occupy the position of the staff of a primitive cathedral, and can only have a connection with it in subordination to their parochial duties, it may be asked—how can the primitive idea be applied at all, and how can the Cathedral ever become the medium of episcopal influence and the centre of diocesan life? So far as this is attainable, it must be through the clergy who are resident at the Cathedral, and not bound to parishes at a distance. Setting aside the Canons (who must take an important place in any scheme of cathedral reform for England), we must look for what we want in a great measure to another part of the Cathedral institution—that which is represented in England by the Minor Canons, and in Ireland generally by the clerical Vicars-choral. If they were multiplied and re-organized, they would restore much of the influence of the Cathedral upon the diocese at large, notwithstanding the unavoidable withdrawal of so many of the members of the Chapter to their parochial charges.

The question has been long and warmly discussed in England, whether Theological Colleges should be attached to the Cathedrals to supplement, and in some instances to supply the place of, a University education. It would be most undesirable to take away any of the candidates for Orders from Trinity College, Dublin, or even to curtail their stay there. The divinity school of Dublin is likely to impart a better education, and keep up a higher standard than could be done by any cathedral. But when the student has got his A. B. degree, and has passed his final examination in divinity, he is still very ill-prepared for pastoral work. If sent down to a rural parish, he has generally little assistance in learning the practical duties of his profession, and little around to stimulate him to further study and exertion. He is often sorely tempted to give up reading of a higher kind altogether; and even the examination for Priest's Orders, which

is still before him, does not always lead to the acquisition of much additional knowledge. Here the Cathedral seems at once to supply the want which has been so long felt. Why should not his diaconate at least be spent at the Cathedral of the diocese? If this were insisted upon, there seems to be no reason why a young man should be compelled to wait till he is twenty-three years of age. At any time after attaining the age of twenty-one (and many finish their divinity course before twenty-three), the student, who is otherwise qualified, might be ordained a Deacon and attached to the cathedral staff. The age for receiving priest's orders ought on no account to be lowered. For some two or three years at least, the young deacon's life ought to be a combination of theological study with practical work. A certain portion of his time ought to be reserved rigidly for study, and no duties ought to be demanded from him which would interfere with this. The deacons ought to be examined by the Bishop and his chaplains periodically (perhaps once a quarter) in a prescribed course. They ought to take part in the Cathedral services and the work of the parish, and be sent to perform divine service, or deliver lectures, or catechize elsewhere, as might be required. Encouragement ought also to be given to the study of church music, and some special distinction in the Cathedral attached to proficiency in it. The effect of such a system would be to train the younger clergy in habits of reading and practical work, and to carry on their education to a much higher point than heretofore. In their journeys to do duty for clergymen who were sick or absent, they would form an acquaintance with all parts of the diocese, and the diocese with them. When a curacy or a small parish became vacant, all the parties concerned would know better who was fitted for it. And when the young clergyman left his Cathedral for a more isolated position, he would be better prepared for the change, and would carry with him the ideas acquired at the centre of the diocese. Nor ought he to be allowed to consider himself as cut off by his new appointment from the Cathedral where he had served. He might still find a place and a welcome when business or leisure brought him back. Twenty years of such a system would produce a union of feeling and thought between all parts of the Diocese, and a circulation of life and energy which is now impossible. The

influence of the Cathedral would be restored as in primitive times, mainly through the instrumentality of its younger members, who, when promoted in time to fill its higher offices, would still further strengthen the union between the parishes and the Mother Church.

Nor would such a plan be inconsistent with that financial economy which is an absolute necessity in a disendowed church. Already the financial schemes of many of the dioceses include provision for a certain number of curates attached to no particular parish, but sent to supply the various gaps which must continually occur from sickness and other causes. Where are these curates to live, if not in the Cathedral town? and if they live there, why not incorporate them in the Cathedral staff, and train them in the manner above proposed? They might live more economically, as well as more happily, and with greater advantages for study, in some common home organized for the purpose. If ordained at an earlier age than twenty-three, they would cease sooner than heretofore to be a burden upon parents, to whom an *early* provision for their children is often more important than its amount. The period between the conclusion of the college course and ordination is frequently a serious tax upon parents, as well as fraught with many dangers and temptations to the student himself. There can be no objection to such a scheme upon the score of expense, whether it be regarded as a question for parents or for church financiers. It would probably be the cheapest department of clerical education, and the most economical contribution to church work.

The result of such a system, if efficiently carried out, would be that the Cathedral would train and supply the clergy of the whole Diocese, and keep up a connection with them through all their after life. Some of them, when ultimately promoted to the more important parishes (to which stalls were attached), would then share in the government of the Cathedral which had been their first home in the diocese, and with which their early clerical training had been associated. The Cathedral would then be in reality what it is now in name, the *mother church* of the diocese,—the parent of many a useful pastor and zealous teacher, still ready on every occasion to gather her children together, and to welcome them with a mother's fondness to their common home.

It is only necessary, in order to complete this sketch, to notice how it may be affected by the legislation of the General Synod about Cathedrals. This question still awaits a settlement; a temporary measure only, to prevent confusion, having been adopted in the last session. The Irish clergy and laity in general have but little faith in Cathedrals as efficient and economical instruments for doing the church's work. They seem at present intent solely upon one object, namely, making provision for a parochial ministry. The necessities of the case, however, are compelling them to carry on their work by diocesan organization. Diocesan synods and diocesan councils are every day becoming more important in the working of the church. However little Irish churchmen may now think of their Cathedrals, in their anxiety to secure a parochial ministry, they are unwittingly clearing the ground for the Cathedral of the future by developing diocesan action. By and by the aid of the Cathedrals will be called in to fill a place which no other institution can fill. That central co-operative action which the Diocesan Council supplies in temporal matters, the Cathedral will yield in the discharge of spiritual functions. All that we ask now in Irish church legislation is—*not* that the Cathedrals should be established at once in the position which we have sketched out for them, but that room should be left for the growth and development of such a system, if the power of growth be there. We ask for nothing but room for existing materials to mould themselves in this way; it is for the diocesan authorities to carry the plan into operation. Let but one cathedral, rightly managed, lead the way, and many will follow the good example. The laity of the Irish church may not now understand the power for good which is latent in their Cathedrals; but their children may yet have to thank these institutions for the future efficiency of their Church.

J. C. MACDONNELL.

ESSAY IV.

CATHEDRALS IN THEIR MISSIONARY ASPECT.

By A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

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Incompleteness of lately published answers of Deans to Archbishops.

Variety and incongruity of duties proposed to be imposed on members of Chapters.

Chapters should be enlarged by private endowments, on precedent of private endowment of new parishes, which has been so efficient for fifty years.

Existing Chapters left, with facility for foundation of supernumerary stalls.

Out of what classes to be selected.

How to bring enlarged body into harmonious activity, and develope working power of Cathedral.

Scheme does not necessarily require any expenditure of public funds.

Practicability proved from success of the Church building movement, to which private persons have given away millions in less than two generations.

Much smaller and easier task, and peculiarly attractive to special tastes.

Objections answered.

Picture of old Cathedrals so strengthened.

Relations of revived Cathedral to other diocesan organizations.

Possibility and desirability of more Cathedrals in England, and undesirability of more Bishops without Cathedrals.

Diocese to be founded first, and left under original Bishop.

Private munificence, Ecclesiastical Commission and official patrons co-operating.

Extent of new dioceses in the two Provinces.

Cathedrals adapted or built, and Chapters created.

Conclusion.

CATHEDRALS IN THEIR MISSIONARY ASPECT.

"L'Union fait la Force."

THE opinion has not uncommonly existed among that excellent class of society which may be concisely described as the candid friends of the Church, that Cathedrals are a very commendable and very ornamental appendix to that Church; not essential to its constitution, but far less detrimental to its practical working, having their use in many directions of secondary importance; but standing apart from the primary interests of the ecclesiastical common weal. A Cathedral is in the eyes of such thinkers the luxury of an establishment, but not the complement of a Church. It is a decorative accident to be provided as the crowning of the edifice, the Corinthian capital upon the solid bearing shaft, not the corner-stone upon which the whole construction fitly joined together ought to rest. A Missionary Cathedral would from their point of view be not merely impossible but inconceivable. It would be like a town hall in the tangles of an African jungle, or a sword of state in the hand of a village constable. The position which I shall endeavour to make good in the following pages is not only the direct reverse of these misconceptions, but it proceeds from a fundamentally different definition of the institution in question. The Cathedral of those theorists is nothing more than a gorgeous building, sacred to the cultivation of the art of religious music, and rich in architectural and artistic adornment, in connection with which a select body of middle aged or elderly clergymen are permitted to draw an ample stipend for the immediate performance of easy but graceful duties, and as the

indirect reward of merit, favour, or good fortune. Of a Cathedral as the mainspring of religious life to an entire Diocese they have never had a glimpse; their difference, therefore, with those who have realized that higher conception of the value of Cathedrals is not so much a debate upon the utility of an institution in the definition of which both sides are agreed as a divergence upon the definition itself of that to which all apply the same appellation.

In a work which I published about ten years since, entitled 'The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century,' I contended that a Cathedral was both an institution and also a building, and that in either respect the English Church would be the better for an increase in the number of its Cathedrals, involving the multiplication of dioceses. This end would be attained both by the elevation of existing Churches of conspicuous dignity and in convenient situations to the desired rank, and by building fresh Cathedrals in large towns where a direct Episcopal regimen was needed. In confirmation of my argument, partly by way of architectural model, and partly to encourage home exertions by the sight of that which had been effected in the colonies under far greater difficulties than could be encountered in England, I illustrated my arguments by examples of Cathedrals, erected or projected, within recent years, in Scotland and in our colonies. I propose in the following pages to take up the subject at an earlier point than that which I occupied in my book. There, speaking generally, I pleaded in favour of the establishment of Cathedrals in places where the Church was already at work. I now desire to offer reasons why in the extension of the Christian Church (under conditions involving communion with the Church of England), either in places where it is non-existent, or where it is so weak and unsettled that the work of construction has really to be undertaken from the beginning, the establishment of a fixed form of Christianity ought to take a shape in which the Cathedral is a prominent feature. That is, it ought to exist as an institution from the very first, and as a building from the earliest moment in which any building at all can be provided; or, in other words, the first missionaries ought to be a rudimentary Cathedral body, and their first oratory a rudimentary Cathedral.

In making this statement I desire to assert that the Cathedral idea is in truth the embodiment of the machinery of the Christian Church in the fulness of its divine constitution. I do not mean that the Cathedral idea is of the essence either of the Christian Church as a divine society, or of Episcopacy as the appointed regimen of that society, but I do assert that wherever the first commission to the chosen Twelve has been carried out by the establishment of an Episcopate devoid of the Cathedral idea, there that establishment has been made in an unworkmanlike, a clumsy, and an unsatisfactory manner. The Cathedral idea is based upon the twofold aspect, in which the Episcopate presents itself to the acceptance of the world, first as a higher priesthood for the performance of the most exalted worship in concert with, and in behalf of, the faithful of the diocese, clerical and lay, and for the fulfilment of the great duties of ordination and of confirmation; and, in the next place, as an administrative system charged with the presiding regulation of the Church, both in its interior sphere and in relation to outward society. No truly healthy Episcopacy can exist which does not recognize and carry out this double function. The Bishop who regards himself merely as the high priest, is on the straight road to that assumption of spiritual tyranny which is in the long run far more meddlesome in temporal matters than the constitutionalism, which treats with them in their proper order; while the Bishop, whose exclusive idea is to administer well, deals, by his neglect or his coldness, a heavy blow to the spiritual life of that divine society, of which he ought to hold himself the nursing father. Both defects are equally prejudicial to the development of the Cathedral system. The ultra-sacerdotalist depreciates its administrative facilities, and the mere administrator is slow to recognize its spiritualizing influences.

But to descend to particulars. What is the Cathedral idea? and where do we find its germ? I have no hesitation in replying to the first through the second question, by saying that the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem, tenanted by the Sacred Twelve, was that germ. The records of the undivided Church are the unbroken history of an Episcopate, living on and acting through its assessor clergy. The first great churches—the

basilicæ, so called—whether pagan court-houses converted or churches built for these sacred objects—were Cathedrals; for the solemn hemicycle behind the altar contained the thrones of the Bishop, stately in the centre, and of his attendant presbyters to the right hand and to the left. The altar, in front, was the joint centre of devotion for the united flock—the singers in the midst, the faithful below them, the catechumens patiently waiting beyond, and the penitents cowering at the door summed up the great congregation in its completeness, as the diocese drawn together for the one great Eucharistic worship of the Christian Church.

I am speaking to those who accept the Episcopal form of Church Government, and who, at the same time, recognize that it must be worked, not as a hard autocracy, but upon principles of the constitutional co-operation of clergy and laity. All this increasing host of churchmen are convinced of the necessity of some form of synodical action, involving lay assessorship, in the dioceses; and many persons at home, in the colonies, and in the United States, are actively engaged in introducing or in carrying on that action. But they must do one thing more, and agree to recognize the Cathedral as the connecting element necessary to bind together the Bishop on the one side as the head, and on the other the clergy and laity, as represented by the Synod with its assessors as the body. As each diocese representing the Christian Church in its solidarity is one body, so the Cathedral is the pledge, the symbol, and the instrument of that unity, of which the Bishop is the personal centre. It should comprehend in the innermost circle, round the central diocesan, men whose advice and personal labours are secured to sustain and counsel the Bishop in the regulation of the various concerns of the diocese, spiritual, educational, and charitable, and to carry on the constant and ornate worship of the Temple. In the next circle will stand a large body of clergy with a direct though not so constant a connection with the Cathedral. Beyond these, again, will be ranged the collective clergy belonging to the see; while the ultimate group will gather in the faithful laity of the entire diocese combined as one great parish at their Mother Church. All synods and all conferences would find their appropriate home at the Cathedral, which, as a building,

would in its ideal completeness comprehend a church, as noble and vast as circumstances allow, for the Divine Sacraments and Offices, the ordinance of preaching, and the occasional rites of ordination and confirmation; adjunct chambers, and chapter-house for private or public deliberation; schools and libraries for teaching and study; refuges, homes of charity, and infirmaries, for weakness, old age, or bodily ailment; residences for those engaged in the various duties of the complex institution; and halls for the exercise of that hospitality which it is a first duty of a Christian minister to show.

Can even the Churchman who is sceptical as to the necessity of Cathedrals, find any flaw in this recapitulation of the elements composing the ideal Cathedral? I assume that he accepts Episcopacy, and recognizes the importance of deliberative co-operation; and I assert that the onus lies on him to prove that these are not best provided at a Cathedral such as I have described. A Bishop is a clergyman, and something more than a common clergyman; it is therefore plainly congruous that he should have the use of a church raised above the usual level for the performance both of those sacred duties which he can perform in common with (but as the example of) his brethren, and also of those at which he only is entitled to officiate. This Church will be the seat of the Bishop, or, in other words, *Ecclesia Cathedralis*. But as the Bishop cannot be always at his Cathedral, it would be a contradiction to common sense that he should be expected to work it single-handed. He cannot be the instructor of sacred music to his own Church, still less to his diocese, so that unless, in opposition to both Testaments, music is not a divinely-appointed element of worship, some musical leader is indispensable for the model church. His strength would fail, and the attention of the congregation flag, if his voice only were heard from the central pulpit of the diocese, hence he demands the succour of eloquent preachers. He cannot himself conduct the various educational establishments for clergy, for teachers, for the whole flock, which it is the duty and the interest of the Christian Church to maintain. He cannot himself undertake the direct responsibility of every detail of the various charities which he may feel bound to foster. Apart

from these considerations he needs the advice of experienced counsellors in the ordinary work of administration. It is accordingly a matter of plain convenience that the officiating clergy, the administrators, the counsellors, should form a compact body in close proximity to the Bishop and to the Cathedral. These simple facts, almost truisms, prove the *raison d'être* of that Chapter of Canons or Residentiaries which help to compose the Cathedral viewed as an institution. It is equally desirable that a large body of chosen clergymen should have a distinct, though less close, connection with the Mother Church, and in them we find the greater chapter of non-Residentiaries. The propriety of every clergyman throughout the diocese, feeling that the Mother Church is—in reality as well as in name—his home, his property, his focus of religious life, is a proposition so theoretically undeniable, that wherever it only exists in theory there the reason for the discrepancy between theory and practice must be the result of some probably long-seated remissness. In a less direct manner but as truly ought the layman, in proportion as he feels the power of Christian brotherhood, to be drawn to the Cathedral as the rallying point of the fellowship for which he yearns. As truly also ought that Cathedral, by the establishment of voluntary choirs, to absorb selected members of the laity into the body more actively engaged in the transaction of worship. Finally then, and most undoubtedly, all deliberative gatherings of clergy, or of clergy combined with laity, and all especial unions for festive or penitential worship, had best take place in the natural capital of the sacred commonwealth, as a portion of the living organization of that Cathedral.

We have thus by an exhaustive process taken each element of the picture of the complete Cathedral, and after testing it by the simple idea of constitutional Episcopacy, have arrived at the conclusion that separately, and still more, collectively, the various elements of the Cathedral idea are in fact the necessary deductions from that idea in their most complete form, and their most natural order. The acceptance of this proposition is no reproach to those Episcopal Churches in which, by unfortunate circumstances, the Cathedral element is wanting. Episcopacy does exist in too many of our colonies, in the majority of the Scotch dioceses, and in nearly all those of the

United States, without being complemented by the Cathedral system. But this fact, which might a few years ago, when the absence of the Cathedral system in those dioceses was absolute and not merely relative, have been used against me, has now, since many of these unestablished or half-established Churches have been making disconnected but vigorous efforts to repair the deficiency—efforts undertaken and worked by Bishops who feel in their own persons the want of Cathedral institutions—become a convincing argument in my favour. Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, a representative man in that party of the Church which is supposed to be least inclined to ecclesiastical pomp and complexity of system, spared no exertions till he had raised a costly Cathedral Church of stately dimensions in the Indian capital, while he defended the proceeding by a powerful vindication of the Cathedral system. At Bombay, also, the Cathedral is now being developed. At Sydney, the late Metropolitan Bishop Broughton commenced a Cathedral on a large scale, and his successor the present Bishop has constituted it with a Chapter. In other Australian dioceses the formation of Cathedrals is in various stages of progress, while at Cape Town a capitular organization has been established in the church, which serves as a Cathedral. Not far from a quarter of a century since, Bishop Medley, of Fredericton, laid the foundations of his Cathedral, while the late Metropolitan Bishop Fulford, of Montreal, constructed another of considerable material importance, with a constitution fitting it to be the mother church of his diocese. In the United States, owing to the dioceses having by ill-fortune been to a great extent endowed with a synodical constitution excluding Cathedrals, in those days of republican fervour for equality, and of deficient knowledge in Christian antiquities, during which the Church of those States was built up, the material progress of the Cathedral cause has been slower. But the idea has steadily grown in men's minds, and has already taken shape in the Cathedrals erected in Chicago (and happily not burnt), by Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois, and in Portland, by Bishop Neely of Maine, of which and of its accompanying institutions an interesting report has lately appeared in the 'Guardian.' At New York, too, Trinity Church with its great endowment is in all but name a Cathedral. In Scotland, not from republican equality but

from poverty and cruel oppression by ruling powers, the Episcopal Church grew up with a constitution which ignored Cathedrals. The spell was first broken some twenty years ago by the movement which erected a Cathedral at Perth for the dioceses of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, while the Cathedral more recently constructed at Inverness for the diocese of Moray and Ross seems fruitful in spiritual and material advantage. More lately the bequest of a generous Churchwoman has afforded means for the creation of a Cathedral in Edinburgh. In the disestablished Church of Ireland, the Cathedral system always existed in name. The shock of the disestablishment seems to have led men to think of the reality, and to seek in ecclesiastical co-operation for the strength which State support had once afforded. The sumptuous restoration of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the construction of the grand and beautiful Cathedral of Cork, just preceded the catastrophe. Its immediate result is the restoration under most satisfactory conditions of the older Cathedral of Christchurch in Dublin, and the renewal of the ruined Cathedral of Kildare.

I trust that I have presented with sufficient clearness the conception of what a cathedral in its completeness ought to be. It was necessary to reach an agreement upon this question before we could consider that the ground was prepared for the enquiry, with which we are more immediately concerned. We have to investigate Cathedrals in their Missionary aspect, which implies that a missionary enterprise carried out among the heathen, in the colonies, or at home, upon the Cathedral principles, possesses elements of practical congruity, impossible upon any other basis. A mission working from a Cathedral centre is plastic in its constitution, popular in its appointments, and vigorous in its action, beyond the possibilities of one in which the unassisted Bishop stands face to face with the flock, among whom he must expect to succeed or fail, according to the wisdom with which he plans his work, and the temper and patience with which he carries it out. The mission may be destined either to break absolutely virgin soil in a country where the sound of the Gospel has never penetrated, or it may have to consolidate and develope the feeble efforts of other Christian teaching, already essayed by missionaries, who have either been working outside the Episcopal system, or who, while

accepting Episcopacy in theory, have been unable to employ it as a living power. Perhaps the mission may take the shape of a new diocese formed within a colony, or a back-settlement, in which the pulse of religion has hitherto beaten very languidly. All these examples of diocesan extension lay legitimate claim to the title of Missionary, and I shall endeavour to dissect the probable working of each, as started upon a Cathedral, or non-Cathedral, basis. But our existing dioceses at home may also awaken, as so many have done and are doing, to new life and more earnest longings after unity, and then their religious action will be Missionary. Some part of the country, too, might desire to do the Lord's work, with the additional strength derived from the immediate presence of another bishop, and here, too, the organization would be a mission. I propose accordingly, before I conclude, to say something of the development of the Cathedral in all these cases, in order to present its missionary aspect under every condition.

The proof that the work of evangelization in missions where Christianity is altogether or nearly unknown, ought to be conducted on the Cathedral basis, need not be lengthy, at least to those who have so far agreed with the argument. It is indeed hardly more than the assertion that such a mission ought to be based on the principles of order and not of confusion, by a well-balanced distribution of functions between the various missionaries, all in common yearning for an united centre of worship, all with one heart and mind breaking bread together in that first Church, round which many daughters may in coming years rise, and call it blessed. If the original missionaries, living among the perils of heathendom, its evil sights and raging passions, away from the comforts and help of Christian civilization, do not at the outset co-operate in one spirit, each with his appointed division of labour allotted to him, and all looking up to their chief, not as their tyrant, but their elder brother and co-counsellor, confusion and failure must ensue. The various offices which they fill are truly canonries; the one church or chapel which they may raise or adopt, be it but a hut or a tent, is the rudimentary Cathedral. When other churches or chapels have gathered round this nucleus, the strain will begin in the adjustment of their claims to independence, and of the Mother Church to be their con-

trolling power; but I shall best treat this further on. As to the rival opinion that, essential as the Episcopal regime may be in the abstract, the earliest missionaries ought not to be men of the highest clerical order, but, as it were, pickets sent forward to prepare the way for the fuller manifestation hereafter of a complete organization, all I can say is, that a theory which is really based on the assumption that isolation is stronger than co-operation, and that a constitution is more practical as its head is weaker, does not seem to approve itself to that which is in all but ecclesiastical matters the conclusion of experience and common sense. If, however, there is co-operation, even though the framework be incomplete and provisional, that co-operation must be regulated by subordination, and so we shall find ourselves committed to principles of which Episcopacy is the complete presentment.

In any case, supposing the mission planned on a system of isolation, it will be but the intentional instead of the accidental trial of that state of things, which leads us to our second head, to which we may at once proceed,—that of the introduction of Episcopacy into a Christian field in which either on purpose or by stress of events it had been wanting. Is the Bishop to come among those whom, indeed, he desires to treat as fellow-labourers, but fellow-labourers of whom he is to be the foreman, as one without "a local habitation and a name," as a supervisor, rather than a father, with no church he can call his own, no altar at which he holds himself especially privileged and bound to minister, no body of chosen helpers with whom to share the chief burdens of his office, no central spot to which as the host he can call together to the feast of religious conference the faithful of his flock? Such bishops we have often beheld; and when the prelate, who finds himself by events not of his making placed in that position, battles against its disadvantages, and perhaps succeeds in building up for himself those institutions of which at the beginning he felt the want, he merits indeed our warmest sympathies. But it is simply inconceivable that any one could deliberately prefer unattached Episcopacy to the system under which the Bishop not only derives his appellation from the place of his residence, but at that residence presides over the one Church which is the centre of religious unity to the fold, the chosen seat of his teaching,

and the home of the altar at which he offers up his prayers and supplications for the souls for whom he is responsible. Not only does an Episcopacy without a definite see contradict the uniform tradition of the whole Christian Church, but it is contrary to the plainest warnings of practical experience. The Bishop of the district, moving about from one church or mission station to another, is neither master at any given place nor merely guest anywhere. His position is that of an inspector, and he must either lord it over or succumb to each successive clergyman. Again, when such a Bishop requires co-operation, he cannot constitute his administration, in the persons of those particular clergymen on whom he devolves specific spiritual duties, and with whom he desires to take joint counsel,—or, in other words, his Chapter. He will probably possess some house which he calls his own, and he may believe that he is fulfilling his duty, and providing for the due government of his see, if he convokes periodical meetings within his parlour of those clergymen or laymen whom he has entrusted with distinct offices. He may also have a synod, and there may be some hut, or if the diocese be tolerably civilized, some public hall in which he can bring it together. To a certain extent he will, in so doing, have made up for the want of a cathedral; but it will be by the sacrifice of spiritual associations to practical exigencies. A Bishop who is known to the selected few in his parlour and to the diocese in the public hall, may be respected officially, and liked privately, but he will not be the Father in God, as that chief pastor will be whose place is at the altar of his own church, whose meetings are within its walls, whose business is always accompanied by prayer and sacrament. The spiritual life of the officials themselves will be stunted if their duties do not involve a sacred fellowship such as appertains to partnership in the religious rites of the Mother Church; while the gatherings of the united diocese will present an aspect of worldly business, which participation in common service would have tended to mitigate. Of the loss of power in confirmations, in ordinations with their preliminary exercises, and in special occasions of united worship, which the absence of the Cathedral, with its spiritualizing influences and its many practical advantages, would occasion, I need not speak. Upon the tangible invitation to insub-

ordination among the various congregations, which such a state of things would offer, I need not dilate. I have, in treating of the introduction of direct Episcopacy into missions, where it had not previously existed, been wandering into considerations which more properly belong to my next head, namely, the comparison of Cathedral or non-Cathedral Episcopacy in dioceses formed in settlements where the majority of the population are living under conditions of European and therefore Christian civilization, however formal and dead that Christianity may be. But in truth, as I went on, I found that a too rigid division of my subject would only lead to repetition, as the general principles on which alone I could insist, in so short an essay, were in the two cases so nearly identical.

The chief difference would be, that in the new diocese formed out of a civilized settlement the evils of the unattached episcopacy will be more apparent and active than in a mission. In the latter the feeling of common helplessness will drive men together, and the brotherhood which ought to have been secured by positive regulation will shape itself by general consent. It will not be so in a community in which the conditions of life, however rough, disagreeable, or deteriorated, are in theory derived from the old civilization of Christian Europe. There the Bishop must be a tyrant, a puppet, or a constitutional ruler, and he can only be assuredly and completely the last if he governs from his Cathedral among his chapter with the consent of his synod. I do not apprehend any wide disagreement from these views in the abstract. I fear the timidity which would accept them in theory, and yet put off the organization of the Cathedral till a more convenient season. The answer to such counsels of fear must be that every day during which the rule of disorder and incompleteness is allowed to prevail will find the future constitution of the diocese on its perfect basis more difficult. The point on which the difficulty will be most acutely felt will depend upon a consideration to which I have already referred. The building of the Cathedral itself will probably be popular; the higher worship carried on within it will attract an influential portion of the community; the labours of the Chapter will be appreciated, and yet there may remain a root of bitterness from which will spring a growth of discontent which may frustrate all other good effects. This

will be found in the relation of the other churches with their clergy and their parochial constitutions to the central Cathedral. The Cathedral standing by itself, however beautiful in its form, however godly in its labours, will not have accomplished its work if it does not occupy a position of leadership cheerfully accorded to it by the inferior churches. But every delay in erecting the Cathedral will give those churches a stronger prescriptive independence. I should be sorry to be supposed to be arguing that those churches should be reduced into a condition of serfdom. Just as I plead for the leadership of the Cathedral, so I desire to vindicate constitutional rights for the separate parishes and their ministering clergy. These rights are not immutable; they need not and they should not be the same everywhere. In England, as I shall proceed to show, they ought to be greater than it would be wholesome to recognise in a newly organized Church. But it is because they cannot be alike that their due adjustment must in every instance be a delicate task, and one which it would be hopeless to attempt without mutual goodwill. The essential requisite is that no clergyman, no parochial organization, no congregation, and no member of that congregation should feel himself or itself a stranger to the Cathedral; that no one should look upon that Cathedral either as an isolated and unsympathising institution or an intrusive interloper. For worship and for deliberation all should be encouraged and should be expected to meet together in the Mother Church, and from the Mother Church should continually flow to them words of encouragement, of admonition, and of advice. All this is beautiful in theory, but if it is to be realised much tact, much good-temper, and much firmness will be required, and in proportion as the occasion for exercising these qualities is delayed and the Diocese allowed to crystallize itself in the old acephalous condition, so will the difficulty ascend in a geometrical ratio.

I forbear from entering upon the architectural question in missionary and colonial Cathedrals. Of course the Cathedral ought to be as sumptuous and as large as means will admit of; but the lack of means, or the impossibility of providing grandeur or space, is no excuse for postponing the Cathedral. After all, the essentials of a Cathedral are an altar whereat to plead the Christian propitiation, a chair whereon to sit, a font wherein to

baptise, and a Bishop to occupy that chair, to plead that propitiation before the altar, and to receive Christ's servants at that font. At all events, let the altar be comely. No Mission can well be so poor that it cannot provide a comely altar, and then if it must house altar, chair, and font in a tent or a hut of wattles, still there will be provided for that branch of Christ's Church a Cathedral sufficient for its present wants.

The course of the discussion has led us to the considera- of Home Cathedrals in their Missionary aspect. The question is a wide one and admits of being treated either theoretically or practically. I propose to deal with it in its practical character. I am conscious that my picture of the ideal Cathedral life with the entire diocese gathered up as one congregation within the one Mother Church might be perverted into a bill of indictment against the actual system of the English Church, with its sharply defined parochial system, its incumbents claiming freehold tenure, and its capitular bodies endowed with rights in the Cathedral Church independent of those which the diocesan possesses. There can be no question that the Cathedral and the parochial organization of the Christian Church are not actually parallel ideas, and there ought to be no doubt that where a new diocese has to be created out of nothing the edifice should be built upon the foundation of the Cathedral. But in an old country where the parochial has grown up alongside of the Cathedral system, it would be an act of perilous audacity to subvert the existing framework in the romantic hope of being able to reconstruct the pile from the ground in more classical proportions. Unquestionably wherever the Cathedral should be the moving power not merely in the see-town as the centre of religious life, but at the circumference of the surrounding diocese, the different rectors and vicars would find their personal influence much abridged. But we should not exalt the English Cathedral by depressing the parish church, for, above all other considerations, it would be very unjust to deny that in the lapse of many generations the rights of the parochial clergy have been a mainstay of freedom against the autocracy alike of ruling despots and of ruling mobs. The ideal Cathedral implies many dioceses, and those small, while the Bishop in each of them, though acting as a constitutional head, would hold his own upon a tenure as

completely implying ownership as that which any rector can now claim. In fact the question would not be whether a few governing Bishops—few whether their reckoning in England were thirty or sixty—should have a large body of dependent presbyters, or a large body of independent incumbents to confront them: but whether we should have an Episcopate in which the deficient ubiquity of the Bishop has to be supplemented by resident and freehold incumbents, or one in which, from the moderate size of his diocese, the Bishop can really make himself felt as resident and as a freeholder all over the area.

I have already, in the book to which I referred, traced the growth of the mediæval type of Cathedrals in their material aspect, and shown that, in the main, they had grown up under two influences, the development of monasticism and the accession of temporal dignity attaching to the feudal prelate. Paradoxical as the assertion may seem, I believe that the independent status of the English parish priest grew as much out of the first as the second of these reasons. The monastery was generally, and on principle, a landowner, and it enjoyed privileges which made it independent of the diocesan. This condition of things fostered the idea of freehold ecclesiastical corporations within the see, and yet holding their own against the autocratic claims of that see. The Bishops were great lords, with wide spiritual jurisdictions; and as the respective landowners went on building and endowing churches upon their estates, they shocked no existing prejudice either civil or religious by erecting in the "persons" of the parishes a series of corporations sole. So, to compress into a few words a very long and complicated narrative, out of such elements, moulded and changed through successive ages by mediæval corruption, papal aggression, national assertion, reformational enterprise, and parliamentary equalization, has grown up the actual system of the English Church, under which the unity of the see, as symbolized in the Cathedral, seems almost a feeble and ineffective pageant beside the reality of personal powers possessed by the mighty phalanx of self-sufficing incumbents. Yet these powers are, in the actual condition of the world, the guarantees for the constitutional liberties of the general Church, against the world at large or any section, clerical or lay, of the Church

itself. If the parochial clergy did not enjoy a position of their own, fenced round by rights which the law recognized as based upon the theory of personal ownership, they would sink into being the hired servants of the Bishop or of the congregation. To the ill results of servitude to an Episcopate, the growth in France and elsewhere abroad of Ultramontane tyranny points a warning finger, while for instances of the degradation which servitude in a congregation involves, we must search the annals of dissenting controversy. Under an ideal system of Episcopacy, with many and small dioceses, the conservative and resisting element of the ecclesiastical polity might be concentrated in the members of the numerous college of Bishops, and the ministers of the subsidiary Churches might hold their positions, not indeed by caprice, but as delegates. But since it would be simply chimerical to expect, or even, as things exist, to desire such a revolution in the Church system of England, and since the abandonment of the constitutional safeguards which environ the tenure of incumbencies would at any other price be mischievous, I proceed to see how far the principles which should govern the organization of new Churches on virgin soils may be adapted so as to allow of the extension of the Cathedral and diocesan framework within a Church with such a constitution as that of the Church of England, in aid of those missionary duties which are as much a debt due from an establishment in an old Christian land as they can be from any knot of pioneer preachers on a heathen shore. We have both to consider the missionary development of our existing Cathedrals, and the creation of new Bishoprics upon the Cathedral type in places where the pulse of religious fervour needs to be more strongly throbbing.

At present the maladies which disorder and weaken the system are isolation and suspicion; the Bishop, the Dean, the Residentiaries, the non-Residentiaries, the Minor Canons, the rural Deans, the Incumbents, promoted as they are respectively to their several offices by different processes and for different causes, and to a great degree by different nominators, have never been reminded by the Church's authoritative voice that once they are in office the fullest mutual service is equally due from every one to all his compeers, and through them to the great diocesan corporation, the ecclesiastical *unitas* of which the Cathedral is the visible, as the Bishop is the personal centre.

I fully and emphatically grant, or to speak more appropriately, assert that the great growth of Church life within the last forty years has gone far to supply the missing links and to create that fuller feeling of mutual interdependence which had but little place in the materialistic conceptions of an average ecclesiastic of the cold days of George II.. But much more is still wanted, and to supply that want the Cathedral agency, as the centripetal one, must be strengthened.

I need hardly waste words to say that whatever may be the best project of Cathedral reform, there is one which is certainly the worst and clumsiest expedient—reform by mutilation, the wild attempt to make institutions more effective by cutting down the number of men upon whose personal exertions the efficiency of the whole body must depend. On the other hand I do not attach excessive value to any sweeping alterations in the sources of patronage. Our existing system, as I never tire of urging, possesses the vast advantage of variety. After all, patronage is the end and not the means, and the kind of men which it places in responsible stations ought to be the dominant consideration. The good canon is good, and the bad one bad, whether he owes his stall to minister, chancellor, bishop, or to some newly-devised process of co-optation. A healthy public opinion is the one thing needful, a public opinion which is sufficiently well informed to consider Cathedrals, not as the endurable superfluities of a complicated Church system, but as valuable co-efficients in its working; and which is sufficiently courageous to declare that their efficiency must be secured by their co-operative power.

I would most certainly retain the office of Dean, not as the possible vehicle for the creation of cheap suffragans, but as the especial domestic head of the chapter, the clergyman responsible for the services of the Cathedral, the organiser of missionary work within that Cathedral and by its Chapter, and above all as the theological student, the teacher of the flock, with accomplishments, time, and opportunities for those labours of learned study with which a Church as distinct from a conventicle ought to be illustrated, but for which the Bishop with his perpetual work of practical administrative engagements may not possess sufficient leisure. On the other hand,

I would develope occasions upon which the Bishop should have the right to convoke, to consult, and to preside over the Chapter. This chapter over which the Bishop would preside would be not the small cluster of residentiaries, neither would it be a body composed of two sharply divided classes, the residentiary, and the non-residentiary, canons or prebendaries; but a council with a more mixed and elastic constitution, as I shall shortly proceed to describe. The business on which it would meet would be to advise the Bishop upon matters of a disciplinary or doctrinal character which had come under his immediate cognizance, and on which he required the counsels of skilled assessors; and to prepare, in concert with the diocesan, matter to be brought before the diocesan synod or conference, either at his own instance or of that of the Provincial Convocation, and to consider such questions as those synods or conferences might refer back to the chapter.

The future composition of this Greater Chapter is so important a question for the development of the missionary aspect of our existing Cathedrals that I must be allowed to dilate upon this head, while I claim forgiveness for pointing out the weak point in recent schemes of Cathedral reform, including those recently elicited from various dignitaries by a letter of enquiry emanating from the two Metropolitans of England. These have been printed by the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Kennaway at the close of the Session of 1871, and form the 333rd paper of that session. These various replies manifest considerable ability, the most remarkable being from the hands of Dean Close of Carlisle, Dean Goodwin of Ely, now Bishop of Carlisle, Dean Goulburn of Norwich, the late Dean Mansel of St. Paul's, and (although it is one with the conclusions of which I am far from agreeing) the late Dean Alford of Canterbury. But throughout their recommendations the different writers restrict themselves within the conceptions of a Cathedral body as crystallized by the legislation of the present and preceding reigns. The Chapters which they reconstruct appear after the process in the familiar shape of a certain small number of Residentiaries, with a considerable weight of Cathedral work resting on their shoulders, and of a larger number of non-Residentiaries with a much smaller weight. Every scheme accordingly, well-intentioned as it may be,

is an ingenious experiment in packing. The glory of God in a magnificent presentment of worship, alike distinguished by scientific precision and general heartiness, is to be encouraged in the Cathedral. The continuous residence and systematic pastoral work of religious men at the Cathedral city in the persons of the various members of the chapter is to be encouraged. The leavening of the diocese by a rotary succession of clergymen whose principal work lies in their parishes, but to whom Cathedral residence comes as an elevating influence, is to be encouraged. Provision should be made by way of stalls for the higher teaching of colleges, theological or practical, and of normal schools. Provision should be made by way of stalls for the studies resulting in books of learned theologians, emancipated from the duty of ordinary parochial or administrative work. Provision should by made by way of stalls for the retirement of gallant veterans, long tried in the battles of the Faith. Provision should be made by way of stalls for the discharge of the diocesan administration, the archidiaconal functions, the inspection of schools, the conduct of charities, and religious societies, the training of choirs, and so forth. Provision should be made by way of stalls for constant and stirring preaching. With all these different wants—each one of them good in itself, but difficult to be harmonized with the others,—to be met within the narrow compass of the existing framework of chapters, it is not surprising that the various schemes as a whole fail to exhibit a comprehensive character. The chapter cut down to two members besides the Dean, in order to concentrate residence, is evidently undermanned. The rotary chapter of four or six members, is weak on the side of co-operation. The chapter of learned theologians, or distinguished veterans, does not help the diocesan work, while the Chapter of active officials may be destitute of the erudition, stability, and devotion which such a body ought to foster.

How then are we to construct, within the old lines, a chapter which shall suffice for ends so many and so distinct? I venture to think by applying to Cathedral development the same common sense principles of liberal relaxation, which have in about fifty years reconstituted our parochial system. Before the era of the Church Building Acts, which

began in the last years of George III., every new Church and parish, or new group of them, required a separate Act of Parliament, and they were of course very few. The simple machinery which has of late years been instituted of an Order in Council has made them legion. I should in a similar spirit break down the difficulties, or rather impossibilities which environ the extension of membership in capitular bodies; and I would no longer look upon a seat in them as the sacred monopoly of Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, and Bishop. It is not difficult to provide for the extension of the classes of residentiaries and non-residentiaries, without any radical alteration in the principles of nomination to the existing stalls. According to the differing circumstances of each Cathedral, the work of the residentiaries might variably be devotional, literary, educational, administrative, or predicatory; while the non-residentiary prebendaries of the "old" and the recently created honorary canons of the "new" foundations would still continue to exist. After this would come in the change which I should much desire to see effected, namely, a facility given for the addition of supernumerary Canons or Prebendaries, appointed by various nominators, for various qualifications, on various conditions of residence, and with various stipends, or in certain cases with no specific stipends, who should complete the *universitas* of the Cathedral body, and supply the functions in which the original residentiaries might be deficient.

All Archdeacons ought at once to be declared *ex officio* members of the Chapter. Then the further creation of the additional canonries might be legalized by the simple process of a recommendation from the Bishop (who would naturally take counsel with the existing Chapter) confirmed by an Order in Council, which would of course be optional within certain conditions on the part of the Government. These additional canonries would be of two classes, the one permanent and attaching to certain offices or functions, and the other personal, while they should in no case be limited to any fixed number. The permanent canonries would of course be attached to offices, which possessed guarantees of permanence and of stipend. To take an example from an institution very dear to myself, the wardenship of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, possesses the qualifications which would well entitle it

to an *ex officio* stall in Canterbury Cathedral. The headship of a theological college in some other diocese might have been endowed by private munificence, and the college itself constituted either by charter or trust deed, and then that headship would have claims to be raised into a permanent canonry. Again, the theological college might be neither endowed nor constituted, but simply go on working and paying its way by private arrangement. In that case each successive head might be nominated to a personal canonry, which would be changed into an official one when the institution was endowed. The same principles would apply to the masters of the training colleges, the new office of diocesan school inspectors for religious teaching, the secretary of the diocesan charities and societies, and so on. Again, in the diocese of Canterbury, and perhaps in others, there is a new office existing upon a tenure of mutual goodwill, the diocesan precentor, whose work is the inspection and training of parochial choirs. The diocesan precentor might belong to the chapter. An extra clergyman of musical capacities might be required for the extra popular services, and he too might be incorporated into the body. The masters of public or large grammar schools are in many cases men whom it would be desirable to connect with the Cathedral, and so whenever by the constitution of the school the master must be a clergyman, the appointment might or might not be permanent, while in schools where there was no such regulation, it would of necessity be personal in cases of eligible clerical masters. There is yet another class of clergymen who seem to have strong claims for canonries, namely, the incumbents of the principal churches of conspicuous towns, the rector of Liverpool, for instance, the vicars of Leeds, Brighton, Cheltenham, Nottingham, or Kidderminster. These clergymen possess a well recognized though not formal pre-eminence. Their Churches in many cases may be looked upon as Cathedrals in embryo, and as in all cases it is desirable that in their organization and services they should be, so to speak, the pro-Cathedrals of their respective towns, the incumbents, were they to feel themselves members of the Cathedral body, would at once be stimulated to reproduce, as far as in them lay, Cathedral work within the range of their own influence. The Cathedral libraries ought to and might develope into diocesan

libraries, and the diocesan librarian might well be attached to the Chapter. The idea has been steadily making itself felt that the Parochial system both in our crowded towns, and in scattered and remote rural districts requires to be supplemented by some organized machinery of itinerant missionaries. These itinerant missionaries ought clearly to depend upon, and work from, the Mother Church, and to them I would assign the official or the personal status of supernumerary members of the Cathedral chapter. Finally the creation and endowment by private munificence of fresh residentiaryships, either with specific functions of an administrative character attached to their holders, or with the general but stringent obligation of clerical duty within the Cathedral, ought to be made as easy as the creation of fresh Parochial incumbents has been made by the long series of Church Building Acts from the 57th and 58th of George III. down to that which bears Lord Blandford's name. In the case of the "Old" Foundations, where the non-residentiary stalls have distinctive names, and where nominal stipends still exist, the new offices might either be grafted upon ancient prebends, or created *de novo*, according to the circumstances of each case. A direct precedent for such an arrangement as that which I have sketched out is to be found in Chichester Cathedral, where two of the Prebendal Stalls (Highley and Wittering by name) have had their endowments respected by the 22nd section of the Cathedral Bill (3rd and 4th Victoria c. 113), on the ground that the holders of them actually perform duties in respect to their offices. The former stall is attached to the Prebendal School of Chichester, so that when the Master gives up the school he vacates the stall; the second is attached to the divinity lectureship of the Cathedral, and the lecturer always delivers lectures as by the deed of foundation. The two Prebendaries are not members of the lesser Chapter. I am conscious of one practical difficulty in the accomplishment of my plan—namely, the rather anomalous position in which the Minor Canons would then stand. But as a reconsideration of the position and privileges of Minor Canons would be a comparatively easy work, their present relation to the Chapter is no real objection to my proposal.

Clergymen of zeal who are fortunate enough to be masters of private means form another class whom it would be desirable

to bring into direct relation with the Cathedrals; but probably the existing organization of non-residentiaries or honorary canons, with a modification which I shall forthwith suggest, would meet their case. Supposing, then, a chapter constituted, as I have sketched out, of the old Residentiaries, and of the non-Residentiaries in the Old foundations, and of Honorary Canons in the New, and of the fresh class which for want of a better name I have termed supernumeraries, the first consideration would be how to bring this body into harmonious action. Here, above all things, I would consider the development of the working powers of the Cathedral, and while retaining the obligation of residence as due from the original smaller chapter, I would invite and facilitate residence on the part both of the actual non-residentiaries and honorary canons, and of their novel brethren, as the ideal condition of the institution. All members, accordingly, of the chapter should be allowed and encouraged to put themselves into residence at their will,—except when otherwise detained by superior duties, such as the charge of their parishes, the work of inspection, and so forth,—to take part in the services, and in due order to fill the Cathedral pulpit. All, too, would be members of the greater chapter, to whom the diocesan should look as his assessors and his advisers. Their relations to the ordinary work of the lesser chapter is a detail on which I am not required to decide, and is, moreover, one which might vary according to circumstances.

It will be remarked that in this scheme I do not necessarily propose the expenditure of a single farthing which has been vested in public hands. To speak my personal opinion, I think that the Cathedral moneys which have been absorbed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have not been and would not be most wisely spent in the almost exclusive subvention of incumbents or curates. But I take things as they are, and I desire to propose a scheme of Cathedral development which may be practical, and not involve any direct departure from the legislation of recent years. At any period of the past century before the fifty-seventh year of George the Third, a large project of Church extension, based upon the probability of private persons contributing for churches and for clergymen money to the amount of many millions in the course of less than two generations, would have been laughed out of hearing

as quixotic. Yet we have lived to see this improbability become not merely an actuality, but one of the most familiar, widely canvassed, and important incidents of the age—an incident of which the sudden disappearance would change the face of the times in which we are living. Then, I say—that if the recognized need of the Church for a stronger parochial machinery resulted in that magnificent effort of private men and women to meet it, so soon as legal impediments were swept away—equally will the deficiency of more Cathedral clergy, so soon as it is recognized to be a need, and so soon as the impediments of law which now bar the way are wisely relaxed, become an object on which generous Church people will be glad to spend their means.

After all, the number of canons who can be endowed in English Cathedrals, even for all the special objects which I have enumerated, will be so very much fewer than the number of incumbents who have already been created, that the work which I propose would be, in comparison with the one already effected, a very easy affair. It would also be peculiarly attractive for special tastes. Let us suppose the very common case of a man well-inclined to bestow his money on some religious object, a London resident for instance, who feels no especial drawing to any particular spot. His inclination to build or to endow some church may be dissipated from the difficulty of fixing upon any neighbourhood which he would rather benefit than any other. On the other hand, he may have sufficient individuality not to relish merging the stream of his munificence in the ocean of some general fund. What is he to do? He may not have, as we have said, any local attachment, but he may have individual tastes. Such as he would be, have been the men who have founded professorships and scholarships in our universities and colleges. Such, for instance, was Mr. Slade, who very recently bestowed Professorships of the Fine Arts on Cambridge and Oxford, and on University College in London. Such, too, is Canon Lightfoot, who has recently established theological prizes on a magnificent scale in the University of Cambridge. The would-be benefactor may have his soul profoundly moved upon the necessity of missions and stirring preaching. Why should he not establish a preaching canonry attached to St. Paul's or Man-

chester, or to Llandaff or Ripon Cathedral? He may be anxious to improve the condition of parochial psalmody. Why is he to be debarred from enriching some chapter with a diocesan precentor? He may have learned how needful it is to keep up the standard of religious teaching in our village schools. Who shall say him nay if he endows an inspector of religious teaching, and bids him have his home in the Cathedral choir? The "Chapters Extension Act," as I suppose it would be called, would interfere with no existing patronage and disturb no existing arrangements. It would be easy to frame and simple to work, while the increment of elasticity which it would contribute to the generous instincts of Church people would, I am convinced, be of a strength and quality of which, till it has been tried, the public can only have an inadequate idea.

It is no answer to say that persons with such individual tastes can already gratify them by trust deeds, and so forth. The difficulty, the expense, the needless complication of such machinery has, by the nature of things, a deterrent influence. The man who can only endow—if he can even do that—a home missionary by creating and perpetuating, at much trouble and an inordinate cost, some new and isolated institution, is likely enough to be disgusted and turned from his project. Let him have the advantage of the simple expedient of being able to attach it to an existing institution such as a Cathedral, and he will go on. But why have I drawn my illustration even so far off as from the foundation of the Slade professorships? In Edinburgh, at this moment, where the Episcopal Church works by its own volition, steps are being taken to create from the foundations—building and endowment—a new Cathedral by the single munificence of a not long deceased Churchwoman; while Mr. Roe's liberality at Christchurch Cathedral in Dublin, though only directly a structural restoration, will, in the intentions of all who support it, raise an institution which has hitherto been hampered in the discharge of Cathedral duties, into more vigorous reality. With such examples before us of work actually going on, I am most fully justified in asserting that my proposal, whatever else may be its merits, is certainly a practical one, even if we suppose that it were exclusively worked by way of whole endowments.

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But when the machinery of subscriptions is also brought in, as it necessarily would be, the facility as well as the popularity of the operation would be multiplied manifold.

I need not expatiate at much greater length upon the future of our old Cathedrals, with their working power strengthened and their staff recruited by the means which I have indicated. How many, how glorious, and how varied might not be the services heard within their walls! How heart-stirring the sermons not merely preached beneath the minster's vaults, but in all the dark corners of the diocese, by canon missionaries issuing from its portals! What a wealth of concentrated administrative capacity and ripened learning might not gather at the table in the Chapter House!

The relations of the Cathedral so revived to other diocesan organizations is a subject on which I could say much, but it hardly lies within the immediate scope of this Essay. I have purposely abstained from offering any suggestion on the connection which ought to exist between the Chapters and the Rural Deans. Much may be said in favour of making it close, and much in favour of a marked distinction of offices, and I am not willing to clog my argument with debatable matter. The diocesan Synod of the clergy ought to and will be held within the Cathedral with all the solemnity which the site and the occasion demand. I should also propose to bring those mixed conferences of clergy and laity—which are growing into shape all over the country—as much in direct connection with the Cathedral as possible. The risk of a brisk debate seems to me a less evil than the elevating and harmonizing efforts of the *genius loci*, were such gatherings convened within or close by the minster, would be an undoubted good. Confirmations, ordinations, choir festivals, harvest thanksgiving and deprecatory services would all come off in the Cathedral with more of unrestraint on both sides, less appearance of patronage on the part of the Chapters, and less shyness on that of the congregations, than can be possible with the best mutual intentions under the actual close constitution. Large voluntary choirs, which are now most happily on every year a more frequent exception, might become a standing element in the system of every Cathedral. Thus in very deed, without any disturbance of their existing organization, might our old Cathedrals become

the centres of that home missionary work towards which, whether they help, or whether they hold back, the Church is gathering up her strength.

But I should have very imperfectly fulfilled my task were I not to say something upon the possibility and desirability of enlarging the Episcopate of England upon the Cathedral and truly missionary idea. I use these expressions advisedly, for while I am as anxious as any one to aid in relieving our actual staff of Bishops from those physical labours which coadjutors or suffragans can share with them, I have but limited sympathy with the persons who can contemplate, with unruffled satisfaction, the importation into England of diocesans moulded on the original pattern of colonial and American Bishops, without Cathedrals or chapters, without a local habitation, itinerant supervisors of the churchmanship of their respective circumscriptions. My sympathy is still more limited for those who would sit down and be contented with the public recognition of a numerous staff of coadjutors. The Episcopate of England is undoubtedly too few in number for the work; but this evil must be cured by an increase in the number of sees, of Cathedrals, of co-operating chapters, and not alone of prelates. For this object, as I have never lost the opportunity of urging, diocesan organization ought to be the first step previous to, or the concurrent step with, the appointment of the Bishop. Let the new diocese be formed, then the pastoral superintendence could easily be left to the Bishop who had previously governed the undivided one, until opportunities presented themselves to crown the edifice with a separate head. Ireland has, since 1834, afforded many instances of independent dioceses under the same head, while recent changes in England have given us the precedent of a Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol administering two dioceses, two Cathedrals, two chapters. If there is no anomaly in this spectacle, neither would there be one in a Bishop of Rochester and St. Albans, of Chester and Liverpool, of Salisbury and Sherborne, of Exeter and Bodmin, of Worcester and Coventry, of Ripon and Leeds, while the Archbishop of York Bishop of Beverley would not be a more abnormal personage than the Archbishop of Armagh Bishop of Clogher, and the Archbishop of Dublin Bishop of Kildare.

In the constitution of the new dioceses, I should look, as in the enlargement of the old chapters, to the action of unfettered private liberality; but in so great an undertaking, something might also be expected from the Commission which holds in pledge so much ecclesiastical property, and from the ecclesiastical and ministerial dispensers of public patronage who could, if they pleased, by allocation or exchange, and without detriment to the parochial service, contribute powerful help to the undertaking. I mean, for instance, that where the patronage of a church suitable to become a Cathedral was vested in Bishop, Chapter, Prime Minister or Chancellor, there could be no reason why the nominee should not be raised to the status of Dean or Canon; or why, whenever the nomination was in private hands, the authorities should not strive to obtain it by means of an exchange. In the Southern province there is no doubt that the number and boundaries of the dioceses ought at least to be in general correspondence with the counties. In the Province of York I should be inclined to go even further, and ultimately to hope for a number of sees in Lancashire and Yorkshire bearing a very different relation to their population than the present allocation of the two counties to the undivided superintendence of three Bishops, and the partial one of a fourth.

In such dioceses, the Cathedral where a church fitted for the dignity already exists must be declared; and where there is none, the building of one ought to be an early necessity; but in the meanwhile some church ought to be assigned to fill the place. In places such as Liverpool, proud of the dignity and influence which its size and wealth have won in the commonwealth, I believe that the building of a Cathedral would be popular even upon secular grounds, just as that of a magnificent Town Hall, Exchange, or Assize Court has proved to be in our larger towns. When I ventured, at the meeting of the Church Congress, in Liverpool, a little more than two years ago, to press, in rather strong language, the propriety of such a town possessing a Cathedral or central church worthy of its importance, I was met by the immediate and warm applause of a full room, and by the later and more deliberate approbation of local opinion. In any case the constitution of a chapter must not be delayed, even if for the present it be composed of unpaid

members. No difficulties arising out of antecedent legislation would there occur, while the difficulties of endowment would exist in full force. But I shall have written in vain if I have not won the assent of my readers to the conviction that such difficulties ought not to be insurmountable. Private munificence will not, I trust, be found deceitful, but, as elsewhere good people willingly undertake unpaid church work from a high sense of duty, so, in this instance, I do not suppose that the dignity of canon would prove a deterrent. On the contrary, this increment of rank, and the natural excitement of bearing a leading part in a new experiment, would naturally help in enlisting the recruits who might, at the outset, be pressed into the service. I am certain that the feeling of religious unity and distinctiveness which the Church population of any county, or of any division of a county, appertaining to such a town as Liverpool, Preston, or Leeds, would feel in being portioned off as a recognised diocese, would very effectively stimulate the liberality of persons already much inclined to give, and only needing a little instigation to give more liberally.

Here I close. My object has been to establish that Cathedrals are in theory the best, and ought to be made in practice, the most common of missionary organizations. I have, in support of my plea, given reasons for the conviction which is strong upon my own mind, that, as the diocesan system is the divine constitution of the Christian Church, so that diocesan system, in order to be complete and satisfactory, must be cast in a Cathedral mould. I have endeavoured to show how this principle would work in missions to the heathen, in dioceses among newly-settled populations, in the old dioceses at home, and in those new dioceses which are long overdue to the spiritual wants of England.

A. J. B. Beresford Hope.

ESSAY V.

CATHEDRAL FOUNDATIONS IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

By Professor WESTCOTT.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Principles of all true reform—its dangers—application to the constitution of the Church—and to Cathedral foundations.

The work of Cathedral foundations—what it is not—what it is:—

I. Necessity for the existence of a body devoted to Theological Science and teaching. Such a body exists in the clerical elements of a Cathedral body. The intellectual faults and defects it is designed to cope with. What Cathedral Chapters can do towards sympathetic combination in theological study. Such a hope not visionary—What they can do to improve clerical education—importance of united literary training of Clergy and Laity—the theological training given by Cathedrals not designed to supersede the Universities—Character of pupils desired; their training—Objections met. System of instruction extended to candidates for priesthood—Objections—Advantages. Necessary enlargement of teaching staff.

II. The work of Cathedral foundations in quickening the intellectual and spiritual life of the Diocese—Gatherings for devotion—Opportunities for men of high spiritual attainments to impart their experience, and for the union of two contrasted types of mind.

III. Cathedral bodies pioneers towards a simpler mode of living: the lineal descendants of the regular clergy. Present conditions of social life unsatisfactory—hospitality one of the first duties of Cathedral Chapters—value of their example—Defects and imperfections of Cathedral Chapters at present—hopes for the future—to be slowly and gradually realized.

Note.—Tabular form of proposed scheme.

CATHEDRAL FOUNDATIONS IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

ἐν μέτρῳ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου μέρους.

NOTHING can be more evident than that all true reform must be based upon an adequate perception of the character of the object to which it is applied. And it is scarcely less evident that the highest developments of society will include the largest variety of distinct offices concentrated in different bodies. Reform is a process of life, and not a creation of life. The noblest organization is that in which there is the most complete separation of the functions of the constituent parts. Step by step, that which was at first equally capable of manifold adaptations becomes specialized. The vital forces grow richer, and more energetic; but, at the same time, there is always the danger of a return to the more rudimentary stage. It is quite possible that an organ, even when it is specialized, may still be able to fulfil in a greater or less degree several offices; it is quite possible that it may be so used as to lose its peculiar character, or even to assume the peculiar character of another organ; it is quite possible that under certain circumstances this confusion may be produced almost of necessity. But in such cases progress lies in restoring the differences which have been obliterated, and not in confirming and perpetuating the more imperfect state.

On the other hand there is a natural tendency in all crises to regard those objects as paramount which are of obvious utility, to turn into popular channels alien forces which are capable of diversion, to accumulate upon the points to which common attention is directed all the resources which can be made to minister to ends which are undeniably legitimate. It is

easier for the moment to defend an institution by shewing that it can serve some good purpose, than by considering what special purpose it may be best made to serve. It is more encouraging to work for a result which is immediate and certain than to prepare the way for one which is remote and unfamiliar. It is more grateful to supply an acknowledged want than to point out the existence of a new one. But endowments are essentially designed to provide for objects which do not appeal equally and at all times to general sympathy. They contemplate services which are wide in their scope, and yet perhaps only partially recognized. They enable patient labourers to command the means of dealing independently with great problems.

The application of these general remarks to the constitution of the Church is obvious. But in the ecclesiastical body, the interests involved are more momentous, the inter-dependence of parts more complex, their action at once more comprehensive and more permanent in its effects than in any other, and so is it of greater importance to provide that no opportunity for special energy be lost. The true reformer will take care that each change tends to define and limit, and so to perfect the contribution of each member to the well-being of the whole. In this case, also, the highest life will require the most manifold organs.

There is, therefore, in dealing with "Cathedral Foundations" (the simple term "Cathedral" is fatally misleading) a great danger to be guarded against, and there is a great duty to be discharged. There is the danger of regarding the work of Cathedral Foundations as differing only in degree, and not in kind from that of Parochial Foundations. There is the duty of patiently considering what is the specific office in the present organization of the Church which represents that for which cathedral foundations were established. It is necessary to reject any theory of their function as inadequate, however much it may fall in with the satisfaction of urgent needs, which is not essentially specific. And conversely we shall be justified in setting up an ideal standard of their office which may not be capable of speedy realization, if it at once corresponds with the evident design of their foundation, and also answers to actual, if not obtrusive requirements of the Christian Society.

If this be so, and surely nothing can be clearer, some popular schemes of "Cathedral reform" fall to the ground at once. The services of the cathedral are an element—a most important element—of cathedral work, but they do not constitute cathedral work. The Cathedral is a part, but it is not the denominating part of the Cathedral Foundation. Preaching is in no sense more a duty of the members of a chapter than it is now of parish priests. In the Cathedrals of the New Foundation the Dean and Chapter, with whom rests the entire and joint responsibility for the due fulfilment of the objects of the foundation, are required to provide for the "worshipping of God in their church with hymns, and psalms, and continual prayers;" but no part in this service is assigned to them except that of ordinary attendance. It is true that the size and magnificence of cathedrals fit them for gatherings of unusual solemnity. The provision made in the respective foundations for a permanent musical staff places the most perfect rendering of ecclesiastical music within their reach.* Nave services and refined singing thus become conspicuous and valuable accessories of Cathedral work, but they cannot form the staple of it. There is nothing to distinguish these from the corresponding services of the parish church except differences of scale and execution. So it is that sermons may be multiplied, every form of ecclesiastical music may be successfully cultivated and admirably produced, but as long as cathedral bodies aim at no more than this, they make good no substantial claim to an independent existence. A body modelled after the pattern sketched by the late Dean of Canterbury would provide for the performance of such work as well as it can be performed, and yet such a body would be bereft of almost every distinctive feature which marks the constitution of our present foundations.

We must then, look elsewhere for the "idea" of Cathedral Foundations, for that vital power by which they have lived

* The successful introduction of Bach's 'Passions Musik' at Westminster Abbey, suggests for consideration whether the 'Oratorio' in some form might not again take its place as an open religious service in cathedrals with great benefit to popular audiences, æsthetically and devotionally. It will be remembered that the oratorio owed its origin to St. Philip Neri, as from the church connected with his *oratory* it derived its name, in a crisis not unlike that through which we are passing.

through times of apathy and indolence and by which they may yet minister to the awakened energies of the Church. This is defined very clearly by the statutes of the New Foundation in the outlines there drawn of Cathedral work and Cathedral life. The work is concentrated in theological study and religious education; the life is shaped by systematic devotion and corporate action.* No one will deny that this combination gives a specific character to a cathedral body; no one will deny that there is scope for the beneficent action of a Society regulated by these principles in the English Church.

It would be impossible to work out in detail the theory of this ideal Cathedral society. Historical and local circumstances would largely modify in each particular case the actual embodiment of the common principles by which all would alike be ruled. But it may serve to give definiteness to the conception on one side, if an attempt is made to point out how such a body might act upon religious thought in the largest sense. The educational office is probably that office which would be the most immediate and the most uniform channel of its activity in every instance. (I.) How then can this be so organized as to fulfil a work which is not within the sphere of the Universities or private study? (II.) How can it be made to contribute to the quickening of the intellectual and devotional life of the diocese? (III.) How can it be exercised so as to elevate the general tone of Christian society? Thought has an intellectual, a spiritual, a social side, and we must glance at each of these in turn.

I.

It is unnecessary to shew at any length that the preaching of Christianity offers a noble field for intellectual labour; that this intellectual service to the Church demands the complete devotion of life; that it calls for the sanction and blessing of the ordination charge; that, to be adequate, it must be undertaken as a solemn office, of which account must be rendered. The Christian teacher has no greater privilege than that of being able to mark how the lines of physical research and of the

* For detailed proof of this view, I may be allowed to refer to a paper on 'Cathedral Work' in Macmillan's Magazine for Jan. 1870, pp. 247 ff.

actual experience of life, converge towards and illuminate the fact of the Resurrection which he is commissioned to preach. He cannot, without loss, neglect the methods of inquiry and the typical results which belong to the investigation of nature and history. He knows that his faith deals "with all things both which are in heaven and are in earth," and he cannot master it on the side of knowledge till he has made the universe its interpreter. If this be so, it is evident that there must be some servants of the Truth who are contented to find their office in studying and adjusting and setting forth the relations of the various departments included in its vast domain; in keeping open the different inlets by which the apprehension of religious ideas is quickened and enlarged; in guarding their fellow labourers from the danger of identifying the essence of revelation with any of the relative expressions in which it has been embodied. And still further, it is no less evident that those who are engaged in these magnificent pursuits will need the discipline of a public responsibility to save them from unfruitfulness. It can hardly fail to happen that the mind which has looked on the light of the splendid visions opened to thought should be tempted to rest in them, and forget that the glimpses of the higher order of things are granted to men only that they may return cheered by them to the common business of the world. The student therefore in this highest region must be a teacher also.

Assuming then that the perfect organization of our Church requires the establishment within it of some body of men, whose definite office it shall be to make theological learning and theological teaching in these wider aspects their ministerial work; who shall be protected from wasteful discursiveness, by mutual co-operation, and from desultory contemplation by the claims of instruction; we are still forced to admit that at present no ministers are entrusted with the charge. Whatever is done in this direction is done disconnectedly, casually, unofficially. Private zeal and private resources supply irregularly what is indeed a public function, for the fulfilment of which provision should be made by the Society.

But not only ought provision to be made in the constitution of the Christian Society for the discharge of this higher educational office, but if we examine the charters and statutes

of the Cathedrals of Henry VIIIth.'s foundation—the general scope of which has been already characterised* — it will be seen that in them provision was actually made for it according to the circumstances of the sixteenth century. The machinery which was then contrived still remains in its essential parts, mutilated it is true and grievously injured by long disuse, but still adequate to fulfil, under new conditions, the purpose for which it was designed, imperfectly, in some measure, and tentatively, till it is supplemented and restored to complete efficiency by contemporary munificence.

This will appear if we notice the clerical elements included in a Cathedral body.† There are first the Dean and Canons, to whom the entire government is committed, and from whom the work of the whole institution must derive its special character and vital power, inasmuch as they are left free from any special charge. Next comes the important group of Honorary Canons, which has been most rightly added to the New Foundations; though these canons have not yet been placed exactly on the footing of the Prebendaries of the Old Foundation, as it is reasonable to expect that they will be. Thirdly there is the body of Minor Canons and Masters in the Grammar School, to whom special duties are definitely assigned. For the present we may confine our attention to the first of these groups. The work of the Honorary Canons can only be subsidiary, though it may be, as we shall see hereafter, of great importance. The Minor Canons and Masters discharge excellently, by general admission, the offices assigned to them. For the Dean and Canons there is no acknowledged standard of duty. No definite ideal is proposed to them which they may be seen to pursue or to disregard. They have no distinctive charge which may give breadth and solidity to their common work; and it cannot be surprising if individual devotion fails to convey the impression of social and productive labour. Here then we have still to look for some general theory of action to combine and har-

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* See p. 112.

† It does not come within the scope of the present Essay to consider the other elements of the cathedral body, but they must not be silently overlooked. The cathedral school may yet be made, as it was designed to be, a place for preparing, not exclusively but especially, those who desire to become ministers in the Church. Generally, indeed, the help offered to poor men preparing for Holy Orders at school and at the Universities has been seriously diminished in late times.

monize efforts which are at present inadequately effective from dispersion. Here we have to preserve and expand, if it may be, the idea of the sixteenth century by clothing it in the form suited to the nineteenth. Here, in short, we may hope to find the nucleus of that "order" which shall be devoted to the intellectual ministry of the Church.

The constitution of a Chapter is admirably fitted to favour the fulfilment of such an intellectual ministry by its members. The authority of the Dean is sufficient to temper and guide the energies of the Canons, but not sufficient to destroy their freedom. The statutory charge, imposed upon all alike, "to be diligent in disseminating the Word of God," if interpreted with due regard to the conditions of the age, concentrates their attention in such a way upon Holy Scripture as to leave them at liberty to collect whatever may illustrate the historic records of our faith. They are relieved by the express nature of their office, from the engrossing cares of pastoral duty, and so left at liberty to give, if they will, their whole energy to study and teaching.

If however, this separation of Cathedral and Pastoral work were made (as it should be made) compulsory, some necessary changes would follow; longer residence (say for nine months) combined with onerous duties would call for a considerable increase in the average stipend of canons, and this, as "a payment for results" would probably not be grudged. But in some cases the income attached to the office is already sufficient for the work contemplated; and for the present I assume nothing more than that two canons, residing for three months each, should combine with a view to realizing the outlines of a scheme for common work.

How then, we ask, can Chapters, in such a case, fulfil the intellectual and educational office which we wish to vindicate for them as their rightful inheritance?

Before we attempt to answer this question, it will be well to define a little more exactly what appear to be the intellectual faults and defects with which the office is designed to cope. First, there are the dangers which spring from the specialization of study, which, as they are great in all separate branches of knowledge at present, are greatest in theology, for this is in one sense the crown and in another the synthesis of all. Next,

there is the defective preparation of those who offer themselves as candidates for the diaconate. Thirdly, there is the practical cessation of theological study among the mass of the younger clergy, who find themselves either overwhelmed by their parochial charges, or left in the enjoyment of leisure which they are not encouraged and stimulated to make fruitful. That these three evils are serious and growing: that they must affect, in an increasing degree, the well-being of the Church: that they are such as ought to be met by some definite provision in our ecclesiastical organization, and not simply left to the remedies supplied by private endeavour; will probably not be denied by any one who has really faced the larger problems of our faith in relation to thought and life, to nature and society; who has a fair knowledge of the average acquirements of candidates accepted for Holy Orders, who has a worthy conception of the work of a great Christian Society. We may then restate our question more distinctly in a divided form: 1. How can the Cathedral Chapters contribute to a sympathetic combination in theological study? 2. How can they supply with any efficiency theological instruction to candidates for the diaconate? 3. How can they foster and guide a spirit of intellectual labour among all the younger clergy of the diocese, which may in some cases be a refreshment and help in the midst of their ordinary ministerial work, and in others the worthy occupation of abundant time left free for their use?

1. The first question lies somewhat out of the common lines of speculation; and yet it has, I believe, a most pressing interest now. It is no longer possible for any one to master the details of a single science, still less of all. And yet the corrective influence of one method of inquiry upon another is no less important than it has been. Theology professes, just as it did in former times, to add to all other truths that which gives to human knowledge an infinite and eternal value. Religion still claims to deal, under the influence of a larger wisdom and in the power of a fuller assurance, with the totality of life. Some close co-operation then there must be, if our teachers are to give any adequate expression to the message with which they are entrusted. It is their highest intellectual duty to test all things, and to co-ordinate what others separately acquire. If Theology be, as it most surely is, the crown and complement

of all sciences, it must number some among its students who will concentrate their attention upon the wider relations in which it stands to other subjects of inquiry. Through them we may hope to gain, as the result of patient and truthful study, glimpses of the vital harmony of the Cosmos which is the first corollary of our faith. To them the teachings of nature and history will be alike sacred; and thus the greatest of problems will fall within their direct path, for this is "to restore the science of life, which deals with the whole experience of men, to its proper place between the science of experiment which deals with matter and the science of revelation which deals with GOD."

It may seem visionary to contemplate a combination of students with such aims in their work as these, but there is nothing in the idea which is inconsistent with ordinary experience. There are few who do not reckon among their brightest memories work done in company with friends, where each labourer was stimulated and helped by the special powers of those with whom he was joined. And it is hard to see why a solemn devotion to a noble cause should make the power of sympathy less effectual, or the contributions of separate endowments to a common end less generous or less rich. At any rate, in whatever degree the object could be gained, or even prominently set forward, good would result, which would have in it the element of life, and therefore of progress. Yet more: no body, it is obvious, has greater opportunities for the commencement of the experiment than a Cathedral Chapter. The members of which the Chapter is composed are bound closely together: they are subject to constitutional control: they cannot but feel that they have some common and public work; and if (as we have supposed) they are free from the pastoral charge, they are undistracted by foreign duties. At the same time, stated religious exercises form a necessary part of cathedral life, and these have the power to give that calmness, concentration, intensity to study which nothing else can give.

But even if this loftiest elevation of combined study be not attainable or even not deliberately sought in our Chapters, there still remains the humbler form of intellectual and educational work which can only be effectually discharged by some combination of teachers such as might naturally be made at our

cathedrals. The special theological training of candidates for Holy Orders, and the continued guidance of young students in theology, can practically only be carried out at many separate centres, and by a Church Theological Professoriate—by a body of men, that is, who have received an ecclesiastical recognition, who are students by profession, and students in order that they may teach. For such work as we contemplate must be the main object and not an accessory of life; and teaching verifies most certainly the general principle, that productive energies must be brought together in order to secure their highest efficiency.

2. For what help then in the education of the Clergy, to pass to our second question, may we look to Cathedral Chapters? Most persons will admit that something more is wanted for a perfect clerical education than we have at present. It is obvious to point to the precariousness of the connexion between the Universities and the National Church as an argument for providing a system of theological education supplementary to or even independent of that which the Universities furnish at present, or are likely to furnish, to candidates for Holy Orders. Opinions may differ as to the exact part which the Universities ought to fulfil in this respect, but, not to enter here upon that question, two facts seem to be sufficiently clear, first, that it would be disastrous to separate clerical education generally from the highest liberal education of the country, and next, that the theological education at a University can only be preparatory.

It is impossible to insist too strongly upon the inestimable advantages, intellectual and moral, of the common literary training of Clergy and Laity. There are, it must be frankly admitted, various dangers and drawbacks, in the freedom and independence of university life, which theological "seminaries" might mitigate; but superior technical knowledge, stricter discipline, closer professional connexion, would very inadequately compensate for the loss of that largeness of view, that breadth of sympathy, that mutual respect and understanding, which characterize the general relations of the English clergyman and the English layman, and which spring from the intercourse and friendships of school and college. The evils of the University for the candidate for Orders are accidental and remediable: the good is inherent.

But on the other hand theology at the University will occupy the place of a liberal study, so to speak, rather than of a professional study. The great object of those who teach it there will be to lay its foundations firmly and deeply in history and criticism, to show how the expressions of dogma are related to current forms of thought, to point out special lines of inquiry to be pursued at a later time. More than this they cannot do with the time and means at their disposal. It remains, then, for some corresponding body to receive from them those who have had such preliminary training, that they may continue and work out in detail these general lessons, with a view to the actual fulfilment of the pastoral office. Such a body must be dignified and independent and adequately endowed. Under no other conditions would it be able to neglect considerations of immediate popularity, to escape the imputations of partisanship, and to afford freely the instruction required. A Chapter, it is evident, satisfies essentially these conditions. A School of Theology at the Diocesan Centre is the natural complement of the theological school of the University.

It will be seen, from what has been said, that such theological schools, which we regard as a necessary part of the work of a cathedral foundation, are not designed in any way to supersede the Universities or to serve as places of refuge for men who have neglected to use the opportunities which the Universities offer. On the contrary, they presuppose the satisfactory completion of a university course, and start in their instruction from the point which a diligent student may be supposed to have reached at the completion of his first degree. It is possible that something may speedily be done for the systematic training of non-university candidates for Holy Orders and for the disciplining and preparing of "readers"; but such a work must be kept quite separate from that with which we are now dealing. We have at present only to consider the case of men who can command the most complete preparation for their work; and it must be the desire of every one rather to make the advantages of the Universities accessible to all candidates than to offer facilities to any for neglecting them.

The men, then, whom we should desire to attract in the first instance to Cathedral schools of theology are young graduates who need some special instruction, pastoral and literary, to

supplement that which they have already at the University, before admission to Holy Orders. This special instruction must extend over a period not less than a year. Some actual experience would be necessary to determine exactly the outlines of the course of reading and the methods of teaching to be adopted. Generally it may be said that dogmatics—a part of theological science which is strangely neglected—and practical exercises in exposition, both written and spoken, would form most important elements in the course, and that it would be best if pastoral training could be made to alternate with literary training. A short period, for instance, of close personal instruction might be followed by a corresponding period of parochial work. During this time subjects already marked out might be mastered by private study, and the knowledge so gained would be tested at a subsequent period of instruction. In some cases the two forms of work might go on in the same place simultaneously, but a division like that which has been indicated would have the great advantage of securing for the candidates for Orders a greater variety of pastoral teaching; and at the same time a much larger sympathy would be gained for the work throughout the diocese.

If now we suppose that from twenty to thirty candidates for the diaconate were anxious to avail themselves of such opportunities of public instruction, two Canons could supply all that would be necessary in the form of lectures and personal guidance in study.* Clergy in the large towns would be not unwilling to use the temporary help of volunteers. The candidates themselves would probably catch something of enthusiasm for the various parts of their work from free and close contact with men of large and varied experience. A wider and keener interest would be felt in the preparation of men, thus openly conducted near the place of their future work; and while the preparation would gain in technical value it would gain also in spiritual value. Not only would the introduction to pastoral work be a help to special devotional exercises, but also the literary examination, which occupies at present the greater part of the week before ordination, might be completed at a much earlier date, and that most solemn time be given, as it

* See a more complete outline, pp. 132, 133.

obviously ought to be given, to personal preparation for undertaking the ordination vows.

If it be objected that this year of professional training subsequent to the university degree increases the expense (already excessive) of entrance to the ministry, the answer is clear. Since the age fixed for the diaconate is twenty-three, most men who intend to take Holy Orders do not at present enter the University till their twentieth year, that no great interval may come between the degree and ordination.* All, then, that is asked is that the school course be diminished by the period required for this supplementary work; and as a general rule the school preparation is fully completed in the student's nineteenth year. Thus, the difference of outlay in the two cases is simply the difference between the cost of the last year at school and the year of ecclesiastical training substituted for it.† Under no circumstances could the total increase of expenditure be great; and if a building were provided for the free reception of students, the cost of their residence for instruction would be limited to the actual cost of living.

3. But it is proposed that this system of public instruction should be extended to others besides candidates for the diaconate. The single year—and it is deeply to be regretted that it is in most cases only a single year—which is spent in the diaconate is generally a time of exhausting occupation in the routine of a pastoral charge. The young deacon is called upon to produce largely, he has but little time for reading, and in his leisure he is disturbed by many distractions. The very nature of pastoral work is such as to force other work into the background. It is even said that in some dioceses a lower standard of knowledge is accepted in the examination for priest's orders than in that for deacon's orders. But if this evil be once openly tolerated, if it be once recognized that study is not an essential part of clerical work, it is evident that faith, where it lives,

* I do not venture to discuss the question whether the ages prescribed for the diaconate and priesthood are the best possible. Perhaps, if the choice were open, the diaconate might well be fixed a year earlier, and the priesthood a year later.

† This remark applies to all who are not candidates for high honours in classics or mathematics. For such men a later entrance at the University may still be desirable; but they will be, for the most part, better able than others to give time after their degree to the study of theology as holding scholarships or fellowships.

will verge rapidly towards mere enthusiasm or superstition. Some protection, then, ought to be extended to the deacon at the beginning of his labours. For intellectual guidance and encouragement he will naturally look to the place where he has already gained it; and enough could be given in the cathedral school to meet the circumstances of his case. If he were required to attend two short courses (or even one course) of catechetical lectures in the single year (or in each year) of his diaconate, the impulse so gained would give life and purpose to his private study; at the same time the Bishop could easily ascertain if it were desirable that his diaconate should be prolonged. Weak points in his preparation might be strengthened, and a unity and completeness given to the whole period and method of his discipline before admission to the priesthood.

It may, of course, be said that incumbents will be unwilling to spare their curates for the four weeks which would thus be occupied in work remote from their special charges. But it is clear that the Bishops can lay down conditions in granting licences, and it is very questionable whether a licence to preach should not be exceptional in the case of Deacons, and not regular. Few, again, would desire to hinder a general good for the sake of their own convenience. Nor is it too much to hope that many Deacons would sacrifice part of their term of holiday for such a change of work. At any rate, if the present system is vicious—and all experience shows that it is—some remedy must be sought for it, and no one seems less likely to disturb the ordinary working of parishes than such a one as has been indicated.

If a systematic course of instruction, represented by short courses of lectures, enforced and applied by personal teaching, were once organized in the Cathedral precincts, it is reasonable to suppose that many, even of the younger clergy, would be glad to avail themselves of the help afforded in one or other part of it. Very few men are able to continue reading without guidance and without an external incentive; but periodic times of gathering to review what has been gained, and to receive inspiration for new efforts, would supply both. Work, begun in preparation for Holy Orders and continued with method and energy during the diaconate, would be pursued freely and vigorously afterwards; a sense of common interest and joint occupation in special subjects would give life to studies which often

languish in isolation; tastes once quickened would be cultivated; inquiries once begun would be sustained; private experience would enrich the common store, for practical questions —questions of finance and co-operation and social morals and casuistry and spiritual growth—would necessarily come within the scope of the scheme, and each learner would be able in turn to throw some light upon the problems brought under discussion.

A difficulty which arises at this point opens the way to a new gain. If the sphere of the educational work of the Cathedral body were thus extended, it would follow that the permanent staff—the two Canons to whom we have assigned this task—would require to be supported by other aid. And it is here that a most valuable opportunity is offered for securing the fullest advantages of an intellectual organization of the diocese. The Cathedral Foundations include, as we have seen, a large body of Prebendaries or Honorary Canons, who unite the residentiary clergy with the remainder of the clergy of the diocese. These include in their number men of the widest experience in all the practical departments of church work, parochial and educational; yet at present they have no peculiar part in the diocesan work which belongs to the cathedral: an occasional sermon is the only official act which they are invited to perform. But the readiness with which they render this service shows that we might confidently look to them for more substantial assistance in carrying out the scheme which we are shaping.* If three or four of the Non-Residentiaries were invited in each year by the Bishop, through the Dean and Chapter, to deliver a series of lectures in the cathedral theological school, on some subject which they had made their own, it is obvious how much the work of the school would gain in value and how much more completely it would be identified with the whole life of the diocese. A country parish gives ample leisure for research; a town parish offers a varied field for observation; and both would probably become in many cases fruitful for the general good, if definite objects were proposed, to which research and observation might severally be directed. We learn, in the truest sense,

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* At Peterborough (for example) where a day for preaching is assigned to each Honorary Canon, about one-half of the whole number attend to fulfil the task. Some concert in arranging the sermons might give greater value and interest to the course.

only by teaching; and it is impossible to estimate what we may call the waste of power in clerical life from the simple fact that circumstances (for the most part) do not call out the peculiar faculties of the parish priest while routine duties occupy him. Many incumbents (may we not believe?) would value an authoritative encouragement to continue labours which are not directly required by their cures; and something at the same time would be done to raise the minds and sympathies of clergy and laity alike to larger interests than the local concerns of their own neighbourhood.

II.

The co-operation of the Diocesan Clergy, in the educational work centred in the Cathedral precincts, would be an important step towards securing the second object which we have considered to lie within the range of Cathedral work as related to Religious Thought—the quickening of the intellectual and devotional life of the diocese. If functions such as have been described were recognized as belonging to prebendaries and honorary canons, they would be appointed for their fitness to discharge them. For in the first instance, the representatives of the clergy invited to take part in the work of the theological school would naturally be chosen from the Non-Residentiary Cathedral body, though special considerations might direct a wider choice. In this way an effect would be produced not to be measured by the mere numbers of those immediately contributing to it. For while it must be admitted that the whole number of clergy who could share directly in the actual execution of the plan which has been sketched out would be relatively small, it is evident, on the other hand, that the whole number of real students or effective teachers (for the present purpose) in most dioceses is not large. And, what is far more important, the influence of the work would probably extend far beyond those from time to time engaged in it. If, in each year, forty or fifty men met together for a longer or shorter time as learners and teachers, and then passed to their respective places in the diocese, it could hardly happen but that they would bear with them something of the animating power of their fellowship. In other centres combinations would arise

which would minister to the life of the whole body. "Clerical meetings" would gain something more of method, and create something more of individual effort for a common cause. A truer catholicity would rise, not from any indifference to the Truth, but from a sense of its infinitude, and of the priceless value of each fragment of it.

It is not difficult to see how the Cathedral body might in this way combine and stimulate and guide the intellectual activity of the Diocese, partly by fulfilling a distinctive charge, and partly by seeking for aid to fulfil a larger conception of the charge. This work, as the recognized work of Christian ministers, would necessarily be bound up with religious exercises; but it would still be incomplete if it were not supplemented by a work of a predominantly religious character. In the offices which we have described the intellectual element is chief, the devotional element is subordinate. We must not, then, rest at this point. We must look for some other function in which the relation of these two elements shall be reversed. This, if it can be found, will tend to complete the whole effect which the Cathedral ought to produce, as an educational power, and bring the discipline of thought and learning into due relation to the whole of Christian Life.

Nor is the search for this complementary form of activity doubtful or remote. If to the gatherings for study, other gatherings for purposes of devotion are added, all will be gained which is wanted. And it is obvious that no places can offer greater advantages for periodic retreats than Cathedrals. The power of the very buildings themselves, and of the associations which are gathered round them to calm and to elevate is not unworthy to be taken into account. At the same time, the responsibility of an official body for the arrangement of the exercises would be an effectual guard against the suspicions which may attach to private combinations for a similar purpose. And if it is desirable, as surely it must be, that the active exercise of the pastoral office should be relieved by seasons of personal spiritual training, it is natural to expect that public provision should be made for the satisfaction of this want. Ministers may reasonably look for help to their chief pastor, and he, no less reasonably, may claim that the resources of his cathedral should be made available for this diocesan work. In

this way the work itself, controlled by the wisdom and experience of many, will gain a sober liberality corresponding with the large sympathies of our Church.

One most important benefit would flow directly from the organization of such devotional meetings. We have seen already how the intellectual spirit of the diocese might be quickened by central activity, how each solitary student might be encouraged in preparing his contribution to the common store, how each minister, who had the special gift, might be invited to take some part in the education of those who will continue his labours. But there is a spiritual science of religion as well as an intellectual science of religion; and it is no less necessary for the well-being of the diocese, the simplest complete embodiment of church life, that the masters of the spiritual science should offer their experience for the service of the whole society, than that the masters of the intellectual science should do so. The wisdom which is gained by the oversight of souls is in part communicable; and when it is not communicable directly, it at least reveals regions of feeling into which thought alone cannot enter. It is well for all to look on these depths and heights of religious life; and it is well that those who are conversant with them should take their place among the central teachers of our body. Their gifts are likely to be overlooked; but in periodic gatherings for spiritual exercises they would be most precious, and be recognized in their due order. New sympathies and new powers would be gained for the common work. The highest exercise of the intellectual faculties in the society would be crowned by the highest exercise of the affective faculties.

The importance of this element in diocesan organization becomes still further evident if we consider the natural contrast between the two types of mind which are drawn respectively to the spiritual and to the intellectual aspects of religion. Many of the differences which distract us are due to the imperfect sympathy which commonly exists between the devotional and speculative characters. Usages, forms of service, articles of belief, assume different relative (or, as it seems to each side, absolute) values as they are regarded from the one point of sight or the other. Yet there is a practical fellowship of worship in which such differences can be resolved. It is not indeed to

be expected, or even desired, that either type should become normal or predominant, but it will be an incalculable gain if the conditions of our social religious life, gathered up in the Cathedral system, should enable the student to become conscious of the energy of affection in Christianity, and enable the pastor to see that there is a critical work to be done for the Faith in which feeling has its part. The Bishop, through his Cathedral body, may do much towards the attainment of this end. The resources which he commands, and the authority with which he is invested, make it possible for him to bring together representatives of different schools of devotion and thought (if we must use the phrase) to join in the supreme acts of fellowship and worship. No one else could do what he can do; and it is difficult to see what elementary machinery could be more suited for the purpose indicated than that which a Cathedral supplies.

III.

Such cathedral gatherings for spiritual exercise as we have considered in the last section suggest a further question which cannot be passed without notice. Some adequate provision must be made for the reception of the clergy who come to them. By whom and in what shape must it be made? When we try to answer these queries, we find ourselves face to face with one of the most difficult problems of modern life, but perhaps under the most favourable circumstances; for while we have to devise some principles to regulate social intercourse, we have to adapt them to circumstances under which a high ideal may be aimed at without coming into conflict with usages and maxims which can be only gradually reformed. It may appear visionary to set forward Cathedral bodies as the natural pioneers in an effort towards gaining a simpler and more frugal mode of living than commonly prevails. It may appear incongruous to connect modes of living with the work of religious thought; but whatever there is visionary or incongruous in the ideas is simply superficial. We are all familiar with the great saying that what is chiefly wanted in our age is "plain living and high thinking," and probably we all acknowledge the truth of it. Then again, the historical descent, and the actual statutes of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation, mark them out as designed to be in some sense centres of "disciplined life."

The Cathedral establishments of the New Foundation are the most important, if not the only lineal descendants of the English monasteries, and the clergy who belong to them answer in position to the old "regular" clergy. The statutes by which these cathedrals are ruled, though they are in most cases only of imperfect validity, distinctly contemplate a corporate life, in which representatives of every class take part, as existing and energetic in them. It is not of course possible to lay any stress of obligation on a descent which has been long put out of sight, or on the details of a code of statutes which are in some parts at least obsolete; but, at the same time, there is an obvious fitness in calling into play forces which have a natural connexion with a particular object, if in the lapse of time the object itself again becomes desirable. And this appears to be the position in which we find ourselves placed.

Very few persons, it may be assumed, are completely satisfied with the present conditions of social life. They tend generally to isolation both of persons and of classes; they encourage the acknowledgment of material wealth as the standard of distinction; they are based more or less openly on the supposition that self-indulgence is the aim towards which men are drawn. And further, even if we allow that a sumptuous style of living (sumptuous, that is, relatively to any person's means) may be innocent in itself, it may still be injurious in influence and example. At present no class probably is more luxurious and self-indulgent than that of the skilled artisans. No class is more likely to increase in importance, and it is idle to hope for any general response from them to exhortations to self-denial till they grow familiar with a higher type of life within their reach, visibly realized by those who deliberately set aside the kind of "pleasures" which, as yet, they find most attractive. It is then very possible, that a form of living, even of austere simplicity, may be desirable now, not as being absolutely the best conceivable, but as being best calculated to meet the requirements of our own time.*

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* On this subject I have spoken at some length in a paper in the Contemporary Review (April 1870). A kind reviewer who noticed that article unfavourably, said (I quote from memory) that "if the views there advocated were feasible, they ought to have been realized long since in cathedral closes." Most happily, though unconsciously, he interpreted what was in my own mind.

To apply these remarks to the questions from which we started: one of the duties most specially enjoined on the Chapters of the New Foundation is hospitality, and particularly towards the clergy. It will then be the natural privilege of the members of the chapter to entertain all who come to the cathedral for seasons of religious retreat. The first question, then, is thus simply answered; nor can the answer to the second question be doubtful. The very circumstances of the gatherings forbid every approach to display or lavish expense. Nothing but the simplest entertainment would fall in with the design of the exercises; and it is reasonable to expect that a religious instinct, quickened by some slight experience, would soon fix the form of the entertainment. A general feeling, a sense of fitness, the close connexion of acts of social and spiritual fellowship, could not fail to fashion an ideal of Christian intercourse. The common meals and the hours of recreation would catch and preserve *naturally*—and this is essential—the spirit of the whole meeting. If it were but for a time, some new insight would be gained into the higher possibilities of life, which might serve afterwards to guide and encourage in isolated efforts.

For it is not supposed that the strain which is made bearable by sympathy and concentrated force could be maintained permanently; but the effect of it, none the less, would be lasting. Just as the spiritual refreshment of the retreat would be influential in the times of dull and wearisome and distracting routine which might follow, so too the social refreshment would be powerful to keep alive simpler and nobler conceptions of living in the midst of the extravagant luxury which is wasting society. The example of the clergy, if uniform in its general aim and scope, would spread widely. A direct connexion would be established between the highest exercises of religion and everyday life. Something would be done to present the purest human joys in that simplest shape in which they are accessible to all. The Church would be sure to include in her action, as she includes in her creed, the whole range of the interests of men.

In dealing with the relations of Cathedral Establishments to thought it has seemed necessary to touch, however briefly, upon the connexion of thought with worship and with life. The

Cathedral by its constitution combines the three ideas of thought and worship and life so completely and on so broad a scale, that it is hardly possible to discuss one without entering upon the others. And so it always must be in any satisfactory examination of religious (that is, human) questions. The personal, the social, the divine aspects of things, pass into one another by such subtle transitions, that we can never dwell long upon one without finding that the other two are mixed with it. And it is a priceless advantage for a great Society, like the National Church, to have centres of activity in which the larger problems of life shall naturally find a partial and yet progressive solution.

If it be said that this interpretation of one of the chief functions of Cathedral bodies is at variance with their history, the answer is plain. It may be at variance with their history hitherto; but is it at variance with their idea, or with the principles on which they are founded? Is the work which has been roughly sketched superfluous or obsolete or impracticable? Is not the interpretation simply a rendering of old forms into the new forms which correspond to them? Is not the work one which is urgently pressing, and capable of being compassed, at least at its outset, by the resources of Cathedrals? The peculiar characteristics of the age of transition in which we live bring out the need; and at the same time they are suited to guard public patronage from the action of caprice or favouritism. We can see in some respects more clearly than our predecessors what Cathedrals ought to do, and we are better protected than they were against some of the evils which hindered the efficiency of what were supposed to be offices of dignity and repose.

There are, as is only too obvious, many defects and imperfections in the present constitution of Cathedral Chapters. Some of their powers are dormant; others have been enfeebled; there is a vague sense that they have no distinct function, and a consequent haste on the part of their more zealous members to occupy themselves with work which is already assigned to other officers in the Church. But if there be any truth in what has been already said, it can scarcely be questioned that they are able to fulfil a part in connexion with religious thought which no other body can fulfil, and which is essential to the complete well-being of the Christian Society. Regarded only

from this side, the Cathedral may easily become the centre of the religious life of the Diocese, closely connected with every part, the symbol and the seat of a catholic unity. Here, if we may indulge the hope, the Dean and Residentiaries, chosen to perform duties of a specific kind, will be busied with the common interests, studying, educating, organizing. Here the Prebendaries will assemble to join with the Chapter as a Council to the Bishop, sufficiently large and varied to command universal confidence. Here the masters of spiritual and intellectual science among the Diocesan Clergy will come from time to time to open their treasures for the service of those who are or who will be their fellow-labourers. Here representatives of different forms of speculation and opinion will meet on common ground to compare and test what they have gained, and learn by experience how it contributes to the fulness of man's conception of Truth. Here many who are vexed by the small anxieties and debates of a parish will find their thoughts raised and widened by participation in the larger cares of the diocese. Here all alike on whom the heavy burden of teaching is laid will meet for personal refreshment in the offices of the divine life. Here the frugal simplicity of the earlier ages will again find a home where fellowship must temper indiscreet zeal, and the constant influence of common and sacred obligations must make self-denial easier and more natural.

As the various elements are thus brought together, the picture of this manifold activity seems like the vision of a dream; and yet every element in it has been shewn to be within our reach. Each part is separable from the others, and separately attainable. The whole scheme may be accomplished by slow degrees, and any fragment of it, which fits in with the peculiar circumstances of a special diocese, may be made the subject of a tentative experiment. Even if it were thought well to aim at all the objects which have been indicated, nothing has been proposed which a Bishop and Chapter, acting in concert, might not carry into effect with no more external help than the attempt would be likely to command, at least so far as to shew that the complete fulfilment of the design would not be impossible. The effort would cost something: it would be misunderstood in some quarters, and misrepresented: it would call for great patience and wisdom and self-command at the outset:

it would be less likely to attract popular sympathy at once than some others which might be directed to objects which are more familiar and universally acknowledged to be good. All this has been distinctly acknowledged at the outset; but on the other hand it would tend to preserve a sphere of characteristic activity for a part of the organization of the Church which has been committed to our keeping; it would mitigate many of the grave evils which arise from the growing spirit of congregational isolation; it would be sustained by an energy of new life: *καλὸν τὸ ἄθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς μεγάλη.*

B. F. Westcott.

NOTE.

It may be worth while to set down, in a tabular form, what would be required to carry out such a scheme as has been outlined, and the definite advantages which it would offer to the diocese.

1. Requirements:—
   - (*α*) A hall for the free reception of (say) twelve students at a time, in a very simple fashion. [This appears to be essential; but the actual cost of living would be defrayed by the students.]
   - (*β*) A resident provost or tutor. [Such an officer would be required for the general administration of the hall and the oversight of the students.]
   - (*γ*) The services of two canons during their residence.*
   - (*δ*) Six lecturers, chosen by the bishop from the prebendaries or honorary canons, to deliver special courses of (say) eight lectures each.
   - (*ε*) Two (or more) clergy appointed to conduct the retreats each year.
2. Attainable Results:—
   - (*α*) Six separate courses of instruction in special subjects, each of one month; each course, including three sets of lectures, one by the residentiary canon, one by the tutor, one by the selected lecturer.
   - (*β*) Two retreats of (a week) each (Lent and Christmas—Ember Weeks).

* See p. 120. It is obvious how much the scheme would gain in stability as well as in power by the extended residence (nine months) of the two Canons to whose special care (under the Dean) the working of it is supposed to be directly committed. At the same time the foundation of the system could be laid without disturbing the usual (but happily not universal) conditions of residence which hold at present.

The Lecture courses might be arranged as follows:—

(1) Three courses required for candidates for the diaconate (August, November, February). [Average attendance (perhaps) twelve.]

(2) Three courses open to candidates for priest's orders and young priests, one of which must be attended by each of the former (June, July, October). [Average attendance (perhaps) ten.]

The resident canon, the tutor, and the selected lecturer, could undertake to give each two lectures a week, besides catechetical instruction. The tutor would also conduct examinations in appointed books.

The tutor, though engaged in lecturing for six months only, would be resident for nine months, and accessible to students during the whole of that time.

3. PROBABLE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE:—

(α) House	£100
(β) Tutor	300
Six Lecturers (£20 each)	120
Travelling expenses for the retreats	10
TOTAL	£530

This calculation is, of course, only tentative, and is based on the belief that many fellows of colleges would be ready to take the office of tutor; and that other labourers would seek reimbursement of expenses, rather than remunerative payment for their help.

ESSAY VI.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF THE OLD FOUNDATION.

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Distinction of Old and New Foundation churches—Origin of the distinction—Cathedral churches served sometimes by regulars, sometimes by seculars—Fluctuations between the two—Rule of Chrodegang—Constitutions of the secular Cathedrals settled in the thirteenth century—Their original state—Close dependence on the Bishop—Foundation of *dignities* and *prebends*—Offices of the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer—Effects of these changes—Increased independence of the Bishop—Prevalent non-residence—The prebendal churches—Institution of Vicars—Origin of the distinction between *Residentiary* and *Non-Residentiary* Canons—Attempts to enforce residence—Advantages of the two classes of Canons—Attempts to hinder residence—Feasting required at admission—A fixed number of Residentiaries appointed—Different ways of appointing Residentiaries—Evils of *co-optation*—Non-residence of Dignitaries—Encroachments of the Residentiary body—Residentiaries become non-resident—The Vicars become distinct corporations—Clerical and Lay Vicars—The New Foundation Chapters—Their differences from the Old—Need of reform in the Cathedral churches—Reform to consist in going back to first principles—Restoration of the Bishop's authority—Restoration of the rights of Non-Residentiaries—Enforcement of residence on Residentiaries—Necessity of the residence of Dignitaries—Their Diocesan duties—Constitution of the Residentiary body—Reform of the Vicars' Colleges—The Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF THE OLD FOUNDATION.

"Our Revolution was a vindication of ancient rights . . . . In almost every word and act may be discerned a profound reverence for the past . . . . And yet this revolution, of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent . . . . It is because we have had a preserving revolution . . . . that we have not had a destroying revolution."—*Macaulay.*

I ENDEAVOURED a little time back to trace out in a small volume the working of the ancient Cathedral system as illustrated by the local history of a particular church.* I have now been asked to put together for the present collection a short general notice of that system and of the changes which it has gradually gone through. The subject is one which people in general seem to have such difficulty in understanding that it may be well to sketch out its main outlines in the most simple and popular way possible. The episcopal churches of the Old Foundation have a common history. All have gone through essentially the same changes; all have been founded and recast after the same general model. But no two, if studied in detail, will be found to present exactly the same history or exactly the same constitution. It is with the constitutions of the foundations as it is with the architecture of the buildings; while all follow one general type, each has what we may call its own personal peculiarities. What I propose to do now is to trace out those points in the history of these churches in which they for the most part agree, using the history of particular foundations only by way of illustration. What I am able to do in a more minute

* History of the Cathedral Church of Wells, as illustrating the History of the Cathedral Churches of the Old Foundation. London: Macmillan and Co. 1870.

way I have tried in my little book on Wells, where I have done all I could to connect the general and the local history. I should be well pleased to see the history of York, Lincoln, and other kindred foundations, treated in the same way.

The Cathedral Churches then of the Old Foundation are those churches which, being *ecclesiæ cathedrales*, churches containing the *cathedra*, *bishopstool*, or *see** of a Bishop, have a Chapter or body of clergy attached whose foundation is older than the changes made under Henry the Eighth. Those of the New Foundation are those whose Chapters, in their present form, date from the time of Henry the Eighth or later. But this difference of Old and New does not imply anything as to the date of the original foundation of these churches. For Canterbury, the mother church of all England, and Rochester and Winchester, two of the oldest suffragan sees of the province of Canterbury, all rank among churches of the New Foundation. The reason is this. In the earliest times of English Christianity it would seem that a less rigid distinction was drawn than was done afterwards between the regular clergy, those who had taken monastic vows, and the secular clergy who had not. When the two classes came to be more strictly distinguished, some of the cathedral churches were served by regulars and some by seculars, and in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries we find various instances in which, in various cathedral and other churches, seculars were displaced to make way for regulars, and, more rarely, regulars displaced to make way for seculars. Thus, in the thirteenth century, several of the English cathedral churches, including the metropolitan church of Canterbury, were served by monks or regular clergy, who, except at Carlisle, where they were Austin Canons, were everywhere of the Benedictine order. But in the metropolitan church of York and in several other churches the secular Canons still kept possession. In two cases, that of Bath and Wells and that of Coventry and Lichfield, the Bishop had two cathedral churches and consequently two Chapters. In each of these

* The *See* and the *Diocese* of a Bishop are sometimes confounded. The *Diocese* is the territorial extent over which he has episcopal jurisdiction; the *See* (*sedes*) is strictly the Bishop's official seat or throne in his cathedral church; secondarily, it is applied to the church which contains the throne and to the city which contains the church, and from which the Bishop commonly, in England now universally, takes his title.

cases, the original seat of the Bishop, at Wells and at Lichfield respectively, kept its secular Canons, while the churches of Bath and Coventry were regular. Those churches which were served by secular Canons in the thirteenth century have kept their foundations ever since pretty much as they were then settled. They are therefore called churches of the *Old Foundation*. But those which were served by monks were suppressed under Henry the Eighth along with the other monasteries, but, all of them, except Bath and Coventry, were refounded by Henry with chapters of secular Canons. These then, together with the churches in which Henry founded bishoprics for the first time, are the cathedral churches of the New Foundation. To these we may add the churches of Ripon and Manchester, which have been raised to cathedral rank in our own time. The churches then of the Old Foundation, those whose constitution has not been essentially changed since the thirteenth century, are the metropolitan church of York and the cathedral churches of London, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, Wells, Salisbury, Exeter, and Chichester, together with the churches of the four Welsh bishoprics, St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph. I may add that the custom of having cathedral churches served by regulars was almost, though not quite, peculiar to England. The English churches of the Old Foundation are therefore those whose history and constitution has most in common with the churches of Scotland, Ireland, and Western Christendom generally.

I have spoken of the thirteenth century, because by that time all the Old Foundation churches seem to have assumed that peculiar constitution which has since been altered only in detail. It was in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that that constitution was gradually introduced into them. Those centuries were still times of fluctuation in these matters. We still hear of regulars being put in the place of seculars, and, much more rarely, of seculars being put in the place of regulars. We hear also of the intermediate step of forcing secular Canons, not indeed to take the monastic vows, but to submit themselves to the severe discipline of Chrodegang of Metz. By this rule the Canons, though they were not obliged to become monks, were yet obliged to conform to the rules of a common life, with a common refectory and dormitory. According to English

custom, on the other hand, each canon lived in his own house, and they were not uncommonly married. But after the twelfth century we hear no more of these changes; the constitutions of the secular Chapters were now finally fixed.

In the primitive state of things the clergy or monks who were attached to any cathedral church had no corporate existence apart from the Bishop. No signs were as yet seen of that strange anomaly by which the Bishop has less authority in his own church, the church which contains his throne, the church from which he takes his title, than he has in any other church in his diocese. The church which thus formed the home and hearth of the diocese was not, in England, as was the rule on the Continent, at all universally placed in the chief town of the diocese. On the Continent the Bishop was the Bishop of the city, and his spiritual jurisdiction extended over the district of which the Roman administrative divisions made that city the head. In England, on the other hand, the Bishop was the Bishop of the district, or rather of the tribe. His diocese was fixed by the extent of the territory of the tribe, and for some centuries his title was at least as often taken from a tribe or district as from a city. His throne or *Bishopstool* was not always placed in a great city like Winchester or London, but sometimes in a secluded abode like Lindesfarn and very often in a town of the smaller class like Dorchester, Wells, or Lichfield. But in every case * he had around him a body of monks or Canons, his immediate companions and assistants, alike in the service of the mother church and in the general management of the diocese. Of regulars and seculars alike the Bishop was the immediate head; they had no property distinct from his, but the Bishop with his monks or Canons lived together on the common property of the diocesan church. The complete authority of the Bishop is shewn by those changes from seculars to regulars and from regulars to seculars of which I have already spoken. In some cases these seem to have been made by the Bishop's arbitrary will; in others they had the assent of the King and his Witan; but it is certain that the changes were often made against the will of those who were most nearly con-

* The see of Ramsbury, a see which was afterwards joined to Sherborne, and both of which were afterwards merged in Salisbury, is said to have been an exception on account of its great poverty.

cerned. Where the church was served by regulars, the Bishop was held to be their Abbot, and in the secular churches it would seem that, in some cases at least, the Canons had no regular head except the Bishop himself. In other cases we hear of a chief officer among the Canons, bearing the title of Dean or Provost, but he seems to have been merely an officer under the Bishop, and he certainly was not the head of an independent corporation. But, before the end of the eleventh century, we come across signs which show that, in some cases, the Chapters, both regular and secular, were beginning to assert a greater measure of independence. This, I suspect, began first in the monastic churches, where it might be felt as a breach of strict monastic discipline for the Bishop, who might himself be a secular priest, to exercise the full authority of an Abbot. It is certain from the Domesday survey that in the time of William the Conqueror some of the capitular bodies held property distinct from the Bishop, and in the local history of Durham we are distinctly told that Bishop William of St. Carilef, who placed monks in that church, made their possessions quite distinct from those of the bishopric, and it was alleged that this was an ancient right of the ministers of St. Cuthberht, whether regular or secular.* And about the same time we find changes made in several of the secular churches of England which had the effect, whether designed or not, of making their Chapters much more independent of the Bishop. This was the foundation of the separate dignities and prebends, and especially of the office which in England universally became the chief office of the Chapter, that of the Dean.† Thus Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman Archbishop of York, at first compelled his Canons to adopt the Lotharingian discipline of the common dormitory and refectory. During this stage he appointed one distinct officer only, the Master of the Schools, a functionary who seems to be the same as the Chancellor of the Church. But he afterwards cast aside the rule of Chrodegang,

* See Simeon of Durham's History of the Church of Durham, iv. 1. Decem Scriptores, 51.

† In most, if not all, German churches the Provost is the chief officer of the Chapter; the Dean is only second in rank. In the churches of Llandaff and St. David's there was for a long time no Dean. There was a vague tradition that the Bishop himself was Dean, but the actual presidency of the Chapter was held by the Archdeacon at Llandaff, and by the Precentor at St. David's.

and reconstituted his Chapter in the shape which, with little change, it still retains, and which no doubt formed the model for many others.* Each Canon now became what in the eye of the law is called *a corporation sole.* The property of the church of York was divided into three parts. One formed the estates of the archbishopric; another formed the common estates of the Chapter; the third part was cut up into *prebends,* that is estates held by the several Dignitaries and other Canons as their separate property without any reference to the general body. Thus, instead of the Bishop and his Canons living in common on the estates of the church, the Canons, as a body, became a distinct corporation, independent in many respects of the Bishop. Each Canon also became himself a corporation, independent in many respects alike of the Bishop and of his brother Canons. Besides the separate being which was given to each Canon by this division of the estates of the church into prebends, we must also mark the institution of the *dignities,* of the great offices of the church. It is not to be supposed that these were in all cases absolutely new creations. It can hardly fail that, even in the earlier and less finished state of things, particular duties were assigned to particular Canons. A body of men can hardly act together without some chief; there must always have been some person, if only by temporary appointment or election, to preside among his brethren at least during the absence of the Bishop. There must have been some one whose special work it was to manage the choir, and some one, we may suppose, who had the especial care of the ornaments and moveable property of the church. But it was now that these duties were permanently assigned to distinct officers, holding for life places recognized as superior to those of the rest of their brethren, and who by virtue of those offices held a distinct prebend or separate endowment. The officers who thus at least grew into a new importance were called the *Dignitaries* of the church. Their exact

* See T. Stubbs, in Decem Scriptores, 1708. "Canonicos quos invenit restituit, dispersos revocavit, et aliquos addidit, refectorium et dormitorium refecit, præpositum constituit, qui cæteris præesset, et nos procuraret. . . . Annis plurimis canonicis communiter vescentibus quorumdam consilio placuit archiepiscopo de terrâ Sancti Petri, quæ adhuc multum vastata erat, singulas præbendas partiri. Tunc quidem statuit decanum, thesaurarium, cantorem, nam magistrum scholarum ante statuerat." On the "magister scholarum," see Stubbs, Waltham Abbey, pp. 15–26.

number, titles, and duties, differ somewhat in different places, but there are four who are all but universally found. Every strictly English cathedral church of the Old Foundation has the Dean as the general head of the whole capitular body. Next in rank to him comes the Precentor, the Canon who has the immediate management of the choir and its share in Divine worship. After these comes the Chancellor, whose chief function is of an educational kind, whose business is the teaching of the younger members of the cathedral body—some add the general superintendence of all the schools in the diocese. The other great officer is the Treasurer, whose special business is the care of the vessels, furniture, and ornaments of the church. These four great Dignitaries are found nearly everywhere. In many cases later foundations have provided them with deputies, Sub-dean, Sub-chanter, and the like. In some churches these deputies are themselves of capitular rank, and count as Dignitaries, while in other cases they are members of those subordinate bodies of which I shall have to speak presently. With regard to these secondary officers hardly any two churches have exactly the same constitution; but the chief four, the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, seem to have been looked upon as absolutely essential to the discipline of a fully ordered cathedral or collegiate church. The high rank given to the Precentor in all the Old Foundations should specially be noticed, as in the foundations of Henry the Eighth that important post is always held by a Minor Canon.

From one point of view no constitution could be more beautifully ordered than this. A chosen body of men was provided as the Bishop's counsellors and companions, and as the ministers of the church which was specially his. Several of these had special duties, duties of no small consequence if the cathedral church was to be kept up in an ideal state as a model for the lesser churches of the diocese, while the other members of the body, who had no such special functions, were ready to take their share in its services, and to undertake any duty, capitular or diocesan, to which they might be called. On the other hand, the change seems to have contained in it the seeds of a separation of interests between the Bishop and his Chapter. The capitular body, organized as an independent corporation and having a personal and permanent chief in its Dean, could not possibly remain in

that state of close connexion and friendly subordination to the Bishop in which it had stood in its earlier and less fully developed state. A corporation which was independent in the eye of the law, could hardly fail to strive after some measure of ecclesiastical independence also. The introduction of the decanal office especially put the Bishop into a wholly different and more distant relation. Now that the Canons had a chief among their own body, and one commonly chosen by themselves,* the Bishop could hardly keep his place as an internal head; he sank almost of necessity into an external Visitor, and the change came at a time when all the general tendencies of the age helped to strengthen these local tendencies to separation. It was the time when corporate and local independence was earnestly sought after, for good and for evil, by bodies of all kinds, ecclesiastical and temporal.† Every corporate body of every kind made it a sort of point of honour to make itself as independent as possible, and to get all possible charters of exemption from all external authority, ecclesiastical or temporal. Monasteries were everywhere striving to obtain exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, and the cathedral monasteries were not slow in the attempt, if not to obtain an absolute exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, at all events to cut it down to the lowest possible point. In a monastic cathedral the Bishop was in theory Abbot, but, often absent and engaged in other cares, as he necessarily was, himself too very possibly a secular priest, he could not really discharge an Abbot's duties. The Prior became the real head of the monastic society, and the Bishop sank at most into an external Visitor. The secular Chapters were not slow to follow the same example of pressing their corporate rights to the extremest point, and of cutting down the Bishop's authority as far as might be. Add to this that the Bishops, as great Barons of the realm, were constantly occupied in public affairs; they were therefore frequently absent from

* In most of the Old Foundations, I believe in all the strictly English secular cathedrals, the Dean was originally chosen by the Canons. In later times, it became usual for the Crown to recommend a candidate, who was always elected, though there was not the same legal obligation to elect the nominee of the Crown which there was in the election of a Bishop. It is only by an act of the present reign that the absolute nomination to the Old Foundation deaneries has been transferred to the Crown.

† I have said more on this head in my Wells book, p. 62.

their dioceses, and, when in them, they often preferred their rural castles and manors to a residence in the city. They therefore ceased to be so constantly present, and to take the same constant and living interest in their own churches, as earlier Bishops had done. In some cases they seem to have easily parted with their rights, perhaps even to have looked upon their surrender as a sort of act of munificence. The change took place more quickly and more thoroughly in some places than in others. But we may say, on the whole, that, from the fixing of the constitution of the secular Chapters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries down to the great changes in the sixteenth, the tendency was to change the Bishop, from the immediate and living head of the cathedral body, into a mere external Visitor, called on to step in when any special abuse or special dissension needed the intervention of an arbiter.*

But, putting aside the way in which the Bishop's authority in the cathedral church was gradually undermined, it is impossible not to admire the theory of the Old Foundations as they stood in their fully developed form, say at the end of the twelfth century. Nothing could be more wisely or thoughtfully planned than the distribution of the chief duties of the church among the several members of the body. But the prevailing evils of the age caused the theory to remain little more than a theory. The creation of various offices with special duties attached to them of course implied that the officers charged with those duties should be constantly on the spot for their due discharge. But the whole system broke down under the two great and closely connected vices of the time, plurality and non-residence. As the non-residence of the Bishops was one of the causes which led to

* Any one who wishes to work out this subject in detail cannot find better materials than in the histories of the two metropolitan churches, as traced out by Professor Stubbs. That of Canterbury will be found in the Preface to the Epistolæ Cantuarienses, and that of York in the Preface to the fourth volume of Roger of Howden. There can hardly be a more marked contrast than we see between the apparently absolute authority of Thomas of Bayeux, changing the constitution of his Chapter exactly as he thought good, and the open defiance which the same Chapter offers to Archbishop Geoffrey a hundred years later. See also the long dispute between Robert Grosseteste and the Chapter of Lincoln in Mr. Luard's edition of his Letters. At Wells, owing probably to the dominant temporal position of the Bishop, his practical authority lasted much longer.

the exaggerated independence of the Chapters, so the non-residence of the Canons themselves was the main cause which led to the internal break-up of the old capitular system. The example of the Bishops no doubt did something that way, both directly as an example and by making the Bishops less able to correct irregularities among their Canons. But the non-residence of Bishops, of Canons, and of parish priests, all sprang from the same causes, causes again closely connected with one another. The Canons, especially the Dignitaries, of a cathedral church would commonly be men of some mark, men whom it might be convenient to employ in temporal offices, and who might even have received their stalls as the reward of their temporal services. And their employment in temporal offices would be fostered and justified by the feudal ideas which had crept into the Church and which had largely assimilated the theories of ecclesiastical and of temporal benefices. The very word *benefice*, as applied to an ecclesiastical office, marks the change. The stall or other preferment is no longer looked on as an office with duties to be personally discharged, and provided with an endowment for the support of him who discharges them; it has become a *benefice*, a fief, a possession charged indeed with certain duties, but which duties are not of necessity discharged by the owner in person. When such views as these were held, non-residence and pluralities naturally became common. No man ever thought of refusing one temporal *benefice*, from a kingdom downwards, because he was already in possession of another. In the like sort men heaped together ecclesiastical *benefices*, parishes, prebends, or any other, and no longer felt themselves bound to the personal discharge of the duties of any of them. An unconscientious man might take no heed at all to the duties attached to any of his preferments. A man of average conscience would think that he had done all that he was called on to do if he provided competent deputies in each place. None but a saint here and there would make it a point of conscience to hold no office of which he could not discharge the duties in person. Thus non-residence and pluralities became rife in the cathedral chapters as well as everywhere else. The Canons, and even the Dignitaries, no longer held themselves bound to residence at the cathedral. They were to be found anywhere else, on their other benefices, in the King's temporal service, any-

where that might happen.* The institution of the prebendal churches also gave a special impulse to non-residence among the cathedral canons, by giving all of them two distinct sources of income, and in many cases two distinct spheres of duty. Each Canon now had, besides his share in the corporate revenues, a separate estate of his own in the form of his prebend. And this prebend consisted in very many cases of the tithe and other endowments of one of the parish churches which were appropriated to the Chapter. For the discharge of the duties of that parish church the Canon had to provide either in person or by deputy, just as he had to provide for his share in the duties of the cathedral church either in person or by deputy. Several important changes arose out of this state of things. With regard to the prebendal churches the same change was gradually made as was made in the case of other churches appropriated to monastic or collegiate bodies. The Prebendary or other rector was no longer bound to provide for the duties of the parish either personally or by a precarious deputy. The rectory became a sinecure, and a vicarage, of which the Prebendary held the advowson, was endowed with a portion of the tithe or other rectorial estate, and the holder of such vicarage was charged with the parochial duties. Thus arose the distinction between Rectors and Vicars in our parish churches. In the like sort, in the cathedral churches themselves the evil brought its own remedy. The Canons as a class had become non-resident;† their duties in the cathedral—and it must be remembered that in the complicated services of those days each Canon had his turn of officiating—were discharged for them by hired Vicars who lived in their houses. Out of the attempts to reform this state of things arose two changes in the constitution of the Old Foundation churches. The one was the introduction of the distinction between *Residentiary* and *Non-Residentiary* canons;

* A most graphic account of the state of things at the end of the twelfth century is given by Richard of the Devizes. I have given the passage at length in my Wells book, p. 172.

† See the account in William Fitz-Stephen (Giles, Sanctus Thomas, i. 257) of Berengar, the messenger of Archbishop Thomas, finding a Vicar saying high mass in St. Paul's on Ascension Day. He addresses him, "Non est hic hujus sedis episcopus, sed neque decanus." We read presently, "Episcopus Londoniensis et decanus post dies aliquot in urbem veniunt." The story reads as if the presence of the Bishop or Dean was rather to be looked for, but there is no mention of the Canons at all.

the other was the establishment of *Vicars* as a regular and permanent part of the cathedral body.

The original constitution of the Old Foundation churches undoubtedly designed all the Canons to be constantly resident. But constant residence was more especially necessary in the case of the Dignitaries, the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer. Their duties were perpetual; they had not merely certain turns for officiating, but a constant superintendence over some branch or other of the service of the church. Their presence was so necessary that, as I have already said, their occasional absence was in many cases supplied by the foundation of permanent deputies like the Sub-dean and the Sub-chanter, themselves in some cases ranking as dignitaries. In the case of the other Canons, the constant residence of the whole body was not so obviously necessary. Still it was desirable to find a remedy for a state of things in which the theoretical presence of every Canon had been changed into the practical non-residence of all. But it did not follow that it was necessary to require the constant presence of every member of such large bodies as the cathedral Chapters were fast becoming. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Bishops went on founding new prebends in their churches till the number of Canons rose to thirty, forty, or fifty. And in some cases it is plain that residence could not have been designed by the founders. Thus Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, founded two prebends in the church of Wells which were to be held by two of the chief Abbots in the diocese.* Such an annexation might help to connect the monasteries with the mother church and its Bishop, but it could not have been meant that the Abbots of Athelney and Muchelney should live permanently at Wells, or that they should do anything in virtue of their stalls besides attending the periodical meetings of the Chapter. Perpetual residence therefore was not to be forced on the whole body. Still some means were to be taken to bring some members at least of the Chapter into residence, and to put an end to the scandal of having everything done by deputy. The first means tried was to make it the interest of the Canons to reside. Each Canon of course received the income of his own prebend, whether he came near the cathedral

* See my Wells book, pp, 88, 173.

or not. But it was now ordered that he should have no share in the divisible property of the corporation in any year unless he had kept a certain term of residence. Thus at Wells, in the thirteenth century, there was a daily distribution of bread and money among all those members of the church, from the Bishop downwards, who happened to be present. The residue of the corporate revenue, after this and all other outgoings were paid, was divided at the end of the year among those Dignitaries and other Canons who had kept a fixed term of residence, namely, eight months in the case of a Dignitary, and six in the case of an ordinary Canon.* The amount of a Canon's income was thus made to depend on the amount of residence which he kept during each year. A Canon who never came near the cathedral would get nothing beyond the income of his own prebend. One who resided for a time less than six (or eight) months would, besides the income of his prebend, take his share in the daily distribution for as many days as he happened to be present. One who resided the full term of six (or eight) months would, besides his prebend, receive his share of the daily distribution for the whole time that he resided—for every day in the year, if it so happened—and he would also be entitled to a share in the overplus of the corporate property at the end of the year. A Canon's income was therefore something which fluctuated greatly from year to year. It depended, not only on the amount of residence which he himself kept, but also on the amount of residence which was kept by his brethren. The overplus to be divided would be in itself greater in one year than in another, and the number of claimants among whom it was to be divided would also be greater in one year than in another. But in any case the Canon who resided got a larger income than the Canon who stayed away. This change at once put an end to the evil of universal non-residence. Canons were now as eager to reside, and to mend their incomes by residing, as they had formerly been eager to stay away. But the state of things now introduced must have been somewhat confused. Some of the Canons were always sure to be in residence, but there was no certainty who or how many would be in residence

* The statute of Bishop Jocelyn regulating these payments is given at length in the Monasticon, ii. pp. 291, 292. I have given a summary of it in my History of Wells, p. 173.

at any particular time. A more regular system was gradually introduced, by which the duty of residence was laid on a fixed number of Canons only, who were to discharge the ordinary duties of the cathedral on behalf of the whole body. Thus arose the distinction which still exists in all the English churches of the Old Foundation between *Residentiary* and *Non-Residentiary* Canons.

The introduction of the distinction between these two classes of Canons I hold to have been highly beneficial, and it is a point to which the most careful attention must be given in any schemes for the reform of our cathedral institutions. If the cathedral church is to discharge its duty as the model church of the diocese, it must have on the spot a body of clergy constantly resident—as constantly resident, I mean, as a resident parish clergyman is on his living—and making the various duties of the cathedral their chief work. They may, most fittingly and rightly, be clothed with certain diocesan functions also, but those functions will not hinder the cathedral from being their primary sphere of duty and the cathedral close from being their regular home. But in order to make the cathedral a thoroughly diocesan institution, to make its existence felt as a living thing in every corner of the diocese, it is equally necessary to have a body of clergy who are equally members of the cathedral body with those who are constantly on the spot, who are equally with them the Bishop's counsellors, and who have an equal voice with them in the management of the affairs of the cathedral, but who are not constantly or generally living in the episcopal city, but are employed in parochial or other work in other parts of the diocese. These two classes of men are at once supplied by the two classes of Canons who now came into being—the *Residentiaries*, permanently resident at the cathedral, discharging its ordinary duties, and of course receiving a larger share of its endowments, and the *Non-Residentiary* Canons, whose daily work lies in other parts of the diocese, but who have the right and duty of appearing at the cathedral at the general meetings of the whole body, as well as for stated occasional turns of preaching or other service. I can conceive no better way of knitting the various parts of the diocese to one centre. I do not, however, mean to say that all this was consciously designed by those who

introduced the distinction between Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Canons. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the distinction first appeared in the form of an abuse, an abuse even more inexcusable than the older abuse of universal non-residence. For this last was a general vice of the age, of which the non-residence of the cathedral Canons was only one instance out of many. But the first steps towards the division of the Canons into two classes, one bound to residence and one not, clearly had its first root in the selfishness of particular men. It is plain that, when every Canon could reside or not as he chose, but when his residence gave him a right to a greater share of the common property, it was the interest of those who were in residence at any particular time to hinder, as far as they could, any more of their brethren from coming to share their dividends with them. As at an earlier stage means were taken to induce men to reside, and that largely by an appeal to their pockets, so now means were taken to keep them from residing, and that largely by an appeal to their pockets the other way. Residence had formerly been looked on as a burthen; now it was looked on as a privilege, and many were the devices which were hit upon to hinder that privilege from being too lavishly extended. In many churches a strange custom grew up by which the right to residence, or at all events to the increased profits of residence, had to be purchased by a series of costly entertainments, the burthen of which might keep men from residing, and might therefore leave a larger dividend for those who were already in residence. This custom was, in some places at least, as old as the fourteenth century, for the practice, as it stood at Wells at that time, was forbidden by a bull of Pope Boniface the Ninth in the year 1400.* By this custom each Canon could purchase the right to residence only by an outlay in eating and drinking which is said to have sometimes reached the sum, a very great one in those days, of a hundred and fifty pounds. It is hardly possible to conceive a greater corruption, a more thorough perversion in every way of the good old rule which made hospitality a duty binding on all ecclesiastical persons. It is plain that an outlay at once so great and so wasteful

* I have given a summary of the regulations of this practice in my book on Wells, p. 174.

must have often hindered men from residing, and that it would be likely especially to hinder those whose residence was the most to be desired. The bull of Pope Boniface condemned the feasting, and substituted a payment in money towards the expenses of the fabric and other purposes of the church.* This was clearly better than spending vast sums in mere feasting, but the evil still remained that a man was driven to purchase the right to discharge his duty by a large outlay. Presently a further abuse was brought in, that the greater part of the money, instead of being spent on the fabric or on any other public purpose, was divided by the actual Residentiaries among themselves. And, notwithstanding the commutation of the feasting into a money payment, the feasting itself reappeared in later times.

The tendency of abuses like this was of course to hinder the main body of the Canons from residing, and to confine residence and its profits to a small body of wealthy men, who could afford to pay what was practically a large bribe at entrance, and who afterwards profited by the bribes paid by others. It was clearly a gain when all these irregularities settled down into the appointment of a fixed number of Residentiaries. This happened, sooner or later, in all the strictly English cathedrals. The duty of residence was laid on a small part only of the whole capitular body, while the duties of the rest were confined to such attendance at Chapter meetings and such turns of officiating in the church as the statutes of the particular Chapter might require. A distinction between Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Canons was thus everywhere established. But the details of the process by which the change was made, the number of Residentiaries fixed upon, and the mode by which they were chosen from among the general body of the Canons, varied greatly in different places. In some churches, as at Lincoln and Lichfield, the duty of residence was laid upon the Dignitaries only. This rule had some advantages; it enforced the residence of those whose residence was absolutely necessary, whose offices, unaccompanied by residence, were a mere mockery; and, as the appointment of the Dignitaries as well as the other Canons still

* The payment was to be a hundred and fifty marks for each Dignitary admitted to residence, and a hundred marks for an ordinary Canon.

remained everywhere in the hands of the Bishop, it practically gave the Bishop the choice of the Residentiaries. On the other hand, when the obligation of residence was laid on the Dignitaries and on no one else, a broader line was drawn between the two classes of residents and non-residents, and special encouragement was given to certain further abuses of which I shall presently speak. In some churches also, where the number of Dignitaries was small, it had the effect of making the Residentiary body a very small one. And, as they alone divided the overplus of the corporate property, it gave them incomes large beyond all reason. But it was only in a few places that the Bishops contrived to retain so much influence in their Chapters as is implied in the formation of a Residentiary body out of Dignitaries of their nomination. In many more cases the practice of *co-optation* in one form or another was gradually brought in. The Residentiaries were practically chosen by the existing Residentiaries, their choice of course being confined to persons who had been already appointed Canons by the Bishop. In many churches the rule was established that no Canon could reside—at least that no Canon could be allowed any share in the profits of residence—without obtaining the consent of the actual Residentiary body. It is plain that the establishment of this rule was equivalent, without any further formal enactment, to the establishment of a fixed number of Residentiaries to be co-opted by the actual resident body. At York, I believe, it rested with the Dean personally to decide which Canon should be called into residence on the avoidance of a Residentiaryship. But it more commonly rested with the whole of the Residentiary body, of whom the Dean of course was usually one. At St. David's the two modes of appointment were combined. That church had no Dean, and the Residentiary body consisted of six, three of its members being Dignitaries, the Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, and the other three being co-opted from among the general body of Canons by the whole Residentiary body. At Llandaff, the other church where the decanal office was wanting, and where the whole Chapter amounted to only thirteen or fourteen, no special Residentiaries were ever appointed. The duty of residence still remained equally obligatory on the whole body, a state of things which in later times sank into the habitual non-residence of all.

The abuses of the system which thus arose in most of our secular Chapters are manifest. No mode of appointment is, as a general rule, worse than that of co-optation, that by which the existing members of a corporation fill up their own vacancies. As a rule, nomination by a single patron and election by a large body is either of them better than election by a narrow oligarchy. And the evils of election by a narrow oligarchy are further increased when the places which it fills up are vacancies in its own body. The Colleges in the Universities may be trusted to fill up their own vacancies, because there are many Colleges side by side, each of which is a check on the others. Yet even here there are very few Colleges which can boast of having, during the whole time since their foundation, systematically chosen their Fellows by merit alone. But a body like the Residentiary portion of a Chapter, a much smaller body than the smallest of academical Colleges, and not, like them, kept in check by the presence of equal neighbours, is of all bodies that which can least be trusted to fill up its own vacancies. Appointments are sure to be jobbed. Instead of a fair election even by the narrow Residentiary body, the appointment is sure to degenerate into the system by which each member appoints in turn. This is the worst of all modes of appointment, because by it personal responsibility is cut down to the very lowest point. A single man appoints, but he does not appoint, like the individual patron, openly and in the face of day; he can job his turn in the dark, and can hide his doings under the shelter of his brethren who share the outward and formal responsibility of the act. Under no system but that of personal options could members of capitular bodies have been found shameless enough to pervert their capitular patronage into a means of heaping pluralities upon themselves. Any mode of appointment, Crown, Bishop, Chancellor, the lot cast into the lap, is better than letting a small body fill up its own vacancies. Nowhere is there so clear a field opened for personal favour, personal greed, and personal spite. And in the case of choosing Residentiaries this mode of appointment was still worse, because, though the Residentiaries practically filled up their own vacancies, they never received any legal right to do so. It was not a definite body of electors known to the law who chose a man to a definite office known to the law.

The formal process still was merely that a Canon wishing to enter upon residence had to ask the consent of his brethren already in residence before his own residence could begin.

Other abuses followed, the kind of abuses which are sure to arise under an oligarchic system, especially under the rule of an oligarchy which, after all, has no legal existence, and all whose acts are more or less done in the dark. One evil was that in many churches the admirable system of offices devised by the Bishops of the eleventh and twelfth centuries became a mere name. Except in a few cases, such as those which I have already spoken of, no provision was made for the residence of the Dignitaries. When the existing body of Residentiaries practically elected, when in truth each Residentiary practically appointed in turn under cover of his brethren, there was no security that the Precentor, Chancellor, or Treasurer would be called into residence rather than any other Canon. That is to say, those offices were practically abolished; it was gradually forgotten that any special duties belonged to their holders. In some cases indeed men who are willing to discharge their duties are not allowed so to do. In some places the thing has come to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Men who are absent for nine months in the year are supposed to keep residence, and they bear the names of the ancient dignities whose duties they do not discharge. Meanwhile Canons, and even Dignitaries, who actually keep full residence on the spot, are shut out from the rights and privileges which are attached to a form of residence which, according to the common use of language, might rather be called absenteeism.

This last strange state of things illustrates two other of the abuses which gradually made their way into the ancient system. It was the natural tendency of a small body, more easily brought together and having greater familiarity with the daily affairs of the corporation, to draw to itself all the powers of the general body. Step by step, by one stealthy process after another, the Residentiary body has, in most churches, gradually drawn to itself the whole authority of the Chapter. A class of men who are strictly deputies of the whole body, a committee, as it were, appointed to discharge certain duties on behalf of the whole body, have gradually come to be looked upon as themselves forming the body. In popular speech the Resi-

dentiaries form the Chapter; in popular speech they alone receive the name of Canons. A strange distinction is drawn between *Canons* and *Prebendaries*, as if those two names meant two different classes of men, instead of the same men looked at in two different aspects. Every member of an Old Foundation Chapter, whether Residentiary or not, is a *Canon* when looked at as a member of the capitular body; he is a *Prebendary*, when looked at as a holder of a certain *prebend*.* To that prebend he is installed at his first appointment, and that prebend he retains if he is elected a Residentiary. His election as Residentiary is simply his being called into residence. He is not invested with any new office, nor is he admitted with any new ceremony.† He simply becomes one of those members of the body who are called on to discharge certain duties on behalf of the whole Yet in common usage, an usage of course favoured by those whose interest it is to favour it, the calling of the Canon into residence is spoken of as if it were an appointment to a new and higher office, and the name of Canon is vulgarly confined to the Residentiaries by way of distinction from the other Prebendaries. What may now be the actual rights of the Non-Residentiary Canons in each particular church is a question of general law and of local statute, the result of an enquiry into which would probably be different in different places. But, speaking historically, the process by which the Residentiary body has in most churches drawn to itself the powers of the whole Chapter can be looked on as nothing but an oligarchic usurpation. At York the Non-Residentiary Canons have never lost their rights; they are there still summoned to every meeting of the Chapter. Wherever any other usage prevails, it is historically an abuse.

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* Now that the prebendal estates are transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the question might be raised whether the title of *Prebendary*, which implies the possession of a *prebend*, is any longer applicable to the Non-Residentiary Canons to whom it is commonly given. It might be answered that the stall in the choir which each Prebendary retains is in itself a *praebenda*.

† This is the case at Wells, which is the best case to take, as it is there that the loss of powers by the Non-residentiary Canons is most complete. The Canon on his first appointment is installed in choir and chapter-house. On his election as a Residentiary no religious ceremony takes place; he is simply put in possession of a house. I cannot answer for changes which have been introduced in supposed conformity with the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act. At York, I believe, Residentiaries are now *instituted* by the Archbishop—instituted to what?

We thus find a distinct body of Residentiaries everywhere established, a body which has in most places drawn to itself the whole powers of the Chapter. Now one might have thought that the bodies which thus arose would at least have discharged the special function for which they were called into being. One might have expected that Residentiaries, chosen from among their brethren for the express purpose of residing, really would have resided. Yet exactly the same process which went on in the Chapters at large has gone on again in the smaller bodies which arose within them. Residentiaries were appointed because the duty of residence could not be enforced on all the members of the Chapter. The Residentiaries themselves presently began to shirk the duty of residence, just as the Canons at large had formerly done. The strange notion began to prevail that the Chapter was sufficiently represented by the presence of one Canon at a time, and thus arose that anomalous being, "*the* Canon in residence." He is supposed to represent for a term, never, I believe, exceeding three months, the whole Residentiary body, just as the Residentiary body itself was designed to represent the whole Capitular body. One man, in short, is set to discharge the duties of perhaps fifty. Residence is strangely construed to mean nine months' absence from the place of residence. In some places indeed it has sometimes meant a perpetual absence. At St. David's, for instance, a single Canon was at one time set to discharge the duty of residence on behalf of all his brethren. And I am not sure that this was not really a better arrangement than the other. A single man of zeal and energy, keeping real and constant residence, would really be a more useful person than four or more alternating in a mock residence of three months each.

The other change, beside the institution of Residentiaries, which was caused by the habitual non-residence of the twelfth century, was the institution of a new and secondary class of clergy in the cathedral churches. These are the assistants of the Canons, the *Vicars* as they are called in most of the Old Foundation churches, though in one or two the name of *Minor* or *Petty Canon* is used.* The Vicar was at first simply the

* The only Old Foundation churches where the title of *Minor Canon* was used were those of London and Hereford. At St. Paul's the Minor Canons form a College, consisting wholly of clergymen, and distinct from the Vicars, who

deputy of the Non-resident Canon, living in his house and discharging his duties in his absence, just as a curate may do in the case of a non-resident rector. Gradually the Vicars, instead of precarious representatives of individual Canons, became recognized officers of the church, and, in conformity with the universal law of the time, they gradually obtained an independent existence. As the Canons had won for themselves a corporate being separate from the Bishop, as each Canon had for some purposes won for himself a corporate being separate from his brethren, so now the Vicars won for themselves a corporate being separate from that of the Chapter. Assistants and subordinates to the Canons in the offices of the church, they were incorporated and endowed as distinct Colleges, holding property of their own independent of the Chapter, and administering an internal discipline among themselves. The Vicar was not necessarily a priest; but he was at first always in holy orders of some kind. In later times the Vicars' Colleges became bodies partly clerical, partly lay. The whole body formed the choir, and the clerical members took the ordinary daily service in turn. The abuses of latest introduction—for I can myself remember another state of things—are, I believe, the notion that, as it is beneath the dignity of a Canon to officiate at Morning or Evening Prayer, so it is beneath the dignity of a clerical Vicar to take part in the singing of an anthem.

I have thus traced out the chief features in the constitution of the Old Foundation Chapters, and the chief stages of the various changes which they have gone through. The history and constitution of each church has its own peculiarities; this or that change took place earlier in one church, later in another; but I believe that the sketch which I have given will be found to be fairly applicable to all. The New Foundations, the Chapters founded or refounded by Henry the Eighth, or later, do not form part of my subject. Still it may be well to point out, by way of contrast, the chief points in which they differ from the old; the more so as we may suppose that they represent the practical state into which the Old Foundations had come in the days of Henry and Cranmer. The numbers of the new capitular bodies

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are laymen. At Hereford the Vicars who, unless there has been some change lately, are all clergymen, form a College, some of whose members are distinguished from the rest as Minor Canons.

are much smaller than the old, ranging from four Canons to twelve, instead of from twelve tofifty. Among them there is no distinction of Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Canons. The duty of residence, and all other duties and rights, are shared by all equally. The stalls have in most churches no separate revenues, and yet the title of their holders, till late changes, was everywhere *Prebendary* and not *Canon*. There is no Dignitary, in the old sense of the word, except the Dean, and the office of Chancellor is wholly unknown. The office of Precentor is always held by a Minor Canon, probably in order to secure the constant residence of that officer. The subordinate clergy are called Minor Canons, and the lay members of the choir are called Lay Clerks. Both these classes are officers of the cathedral, with statutable rights and duties, but they do not form corporations independent of the Chapter. The Dean is everywhere directly appointed by the Crown; co-optation is unknown, the Prebendaries being appointed in some cases by the Bishop, in others by the Crown or the Lord Chancellor. The effect of this last class of appointments has been to make the New Foundation Chapters much less closely connected with the several dioceses than the older bodies still are.

And now, to wind up, for a few words as to the practical bearing of the history which I have just sketched. I doubt not that other contributors to this volume will undertake the task of showing that our Cathedral institutions are, even in their present state, far from wholly useless; and that it is at least worth an effort to put them on a footing which shall make their usefulness at once really greater in itself and more easy to be recognized than it now is. If it once be understood that cathedral offices carry with them real and special duties, and that some special qualifications are needed in those who are to hold them, one great step will have been taken. If it be once understood that these offices are not sinecures,* and that they are not places to which anybody can be appointed indiscriminately, those who have the nomination to such places will exercise a greater care than they have hitherto commonly done in the choice of

* *Sinecures* I mean in the popular sense—offices to which no duty is attached. In the legal sense of the word, all residentiary offices ought to be sinecures—places *sine curâ animarum*, allowing for the exceptional case of those to whom the cathedral is also their immediate parish church.

persons to fill these offices. I do not speak of appointments which are plainly and openly corrupt, of Deans and Canons who are appointed as the reward of electioneering services, or because they are near of kin to a Bishop or a Cabinet Minister. I speak of appointments which are doubtless conscientiously made, appointments where the office is bestowed, as the phrase is, as the reward of merit. Men are appointed for all kinds of reasons, for almost any reason except that of direct qualifications for the appointment. One man is appointed because he is rich; another because he is poor. One is appointed because he has succeeded in some other office; another because he has failed in some other office. It is rarely indeed that a man is appointed simply because he is known to be a fit man for that particular post. The real wonder is that, with this haphazard way of appointment, so large a proportion of our cathedral officers turn out to be really well qualified for their posts. The truth is that wealth or poverty, success or failure elsewhere, even kindred to a Bishop or a Minister, if they are no qualifications for such offices, are at all events no disqualifications. Though a man appointed for any of these reasons may very likely turn out ill, yet it is just as possible that he may turn out well. But it is clear that a far higher standard would be reached, that there would be far greater security for fitness, if it were really recognized that cathedral offices have some definite duties and require some definite qualifications. Now I do not see how this can ever be so thoroughly brought about as by falling back upon the original principles of our Old Foundations. Their history will supply us with much of guidance in the work of reform, guidance alike in the way of example and in the way of warning. First of all, I hold that the due authority of the Bishop in his own church must be fully recognized and practically enforced. In an ideal state of things, the Bishop and his Chapter would act very much like a King and his Parliament, neither of whom can do any important act without the consent of the other. But, at all events, we may everywhere get rid of that paltry jealousy which takes advantage of legal technicalities to treat the cathedral as the private chapel of four or five clergymen, and not as the church of the Bishop and the church of his flock. The Bishop must again become, not a mere external Visitor, whose jurisdiction is unwillingly acknowledged, and whose personal

ministrations are grudgingly allowed, but the chief ruler and the chief priest, not only in his diocese at large, but more especially in the church from which he takes his title, and which ought to be, above all others, his own. Secondly, in providing him with his Chapter as his assistants and counsellors, we may learn much both from the original constitution of the Old Foundation churches, and from the changes which they have undergone. I hold that the distinction between Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Canons ought to be retained. As I have already said, though it historically arose out of an abuse, yet it suggests one of the best means of really knitting the Cathedral and the Diocese together. But, to this end, it must be recognized that the Chapter consists of the whole body and not of the Residentiaries only. The Residentiaries must be content to be looked on, not as a distinct class in some mysterious way superior to their brethren, but simply as certain members of the general body, appointed to discharge a particular duty on behalf of all. The Non-Residentiary Canons would of course leave the daily and weekly discipline of the church to their resident brethren; but they ought to have an equal voice with the Residentiaries in all matters of permanent importance, in all matters, beyond mere daily routine, which touch either the fabric or its services,* in all exercises of the right of election or patronage. A body of forty or fifty may be trusted to do many things which a body of four or five cannot be trusted to do. In so large a body as the whole Chapter of Wells or Lincoln a mere job could hardly take place. An election by such a body would be a real election. The electors might be influenced by theological partizanship; they might give their votes according as a candidate was High, Low, or Broad; but each man would commonly vote for the best man of his own party, and the best man of any party would commonly be better than a man jobbed in at a secret conclave. The resto-

* I mean that, if a window is broken, the Residentiaries should get it mended; but that, if any extensive repairs or changes are needed in the fabric, the whole Chapter should be consulted. The Residentiaries, under the rule of the Precentor, should have the immediate care of the services from day to day, but the whole Chapter should be consulted on any change as to their form or order. In short, the Residentiaries should be a kind of executive committee of the whole Chapter; but nothing of a legislative kind, nothing involving the enactment of anything like a permanent rule, should be done, except by the joint action of the Bishop and the whole Chapter.

ration of the Non-Residentiary Canons to their proper position is an essential feature of all cathedral reform.

Thirdly, if there is to be any reform at all, it must begin by making the place of Residentiary a reality. We have still to fight the same battle which had to be fought seven hundred years back. The picture drawn by Richard of the Devizes is still a true one. The houses of non-resident Residentiaries still stand empty, and now without so much as their Vicars to live in them. The Precentor, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, are still absent for nine months in the year; in some places they are absent for ever. In trying to bring back our capitular bodies to some measure of usefulness, we must, as of old, get rid of non-residence and pluralities. "The Canon in residence" with his nine months' absence and his visit of three months, must be got rid of for ever. A three months' residence is a mere mockery; it is a mere interruption of other duties elsewhere; it is a time in which the best man can do very little good, while an unfit man can do a great deal of mischief. If anything is to be done at all, Residentiaries must really reside at the Cathedral; it must be their home, and they must hold no office which involves residence elsewhere. No Residentiary should have any parochial cure, except within the cathedral precinct or liberty. It is most important that clergymen beneficed in the diocese should be represented in the Chapter; but that element is supplied by the Non-Residentiary Canons. Before all things, in any scheme of reform, Residentiaries must be really resident.

Fourthly, the question arises—Of whom is the Residentiary body to be composed? The wretched system of co-optation is doomed by the law of the land; in most places it has ceased already. But I cannot say that I like the alternative of putting the appointment of Residentiaries wholly into the hands of the Bishop. On the one hand it is plain that the great officers of the church, the Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, who of course will be appointed by the Bishop—should always be members of the Residentiary body. It is most important, if there is to be any reform in these things, that their offices should again become realities, discharged by themselves in their own persons. They must therefore in all cases be Residentiaries. And besides their strictly cathedral duties, their

usefulness would be greatly increased if they were fully understood to be also diocesan officers. It is at least an ancient theory that the care of all the schools in the Diocese properly belongs to the Chancellor of the diocesan church. Here then is the Diocesan Inspector, an officer now somewhat in request, ready made to hand. It would be quite in accordance with ancient precedent, if functions of the same kind were also laid on the Precentor and Treasurer. The one might be charged with a general superintendence over ecclesiastical music, the other with a like superintendence over ecclesiastical fabrics, throughout the Diocese.* Occasional absence on duties of this kind should of course not be considered as interfering with residence. The Archdeacons, on the other hand, though they ought to be members of the Chapter, had better not be Residentiaries; at all events, none but the one in whose archdeaconry the cathedral itself stands. Nor do I ask for a residentiary body formed wholly of Dignitaries. If the Dignitaries be the only Residentiaries, the Residentiary body will have no sort of representative character. It strikes me that the old constitution of St. David's supplies us with a valuable hint. There, as I have already said, the Residentiary body consisted of three Dignitaries and three of the other Canons. Instead of the vicious practice of co-optation, let two or three Canons, chosen by the whole Chapter out of their own body, keep residence along with the Dignitaries. This would of course involve a greater number of Residentiaries than that which the Act of Parliament allows to most of our churches. The only difficulty in the way of such an increase is a question of money; and I am now discussing the reforms which are desirable in themselves, not the question of temporal ways and means. But it

* The present Precentor of Lincoln has kindly furnished me with some extracts from the statutes of that church, which have an important bearing on the diocesan functions of the Dignitaries.

"*De officio Præcentoris.*—Magistros cantus in civitate et comitatu Lincolniensi ordinet et præficiat: locis præbendalibus ac scholis quas in suis propriis parochiis curati aliqui de suis propriis parochianis tenent, aut parochiales clerici eorundem (quos per Præcentorem ad informandum et instruendum suæ parochiæ puerulos in cantu nolumus impediri) duntaxat exceptis.

"*De officio Cancellarii.*—Scholas omnes grammaticæ in civitate et comitatu Lincolniensi pro suo libero conferat arbitrio; scholis cantus et illis quæ sunt in præbendis ac aliis quas tenent Ecclesiarum Rectores vel cæteri curati aut eorum parochiales clerici in suis parochiis pro suis parochianis in fide et literatura erudiendis duntaxat exceptis."

should not be forgotten that the Act itself contemplates the restoration of the suspended stalls, if an endownment can be found for them.

Lastly, a few words may be said on the subordinate members of these foundations, the Vicars, clerical and lay. I trust that the days are past when the post of Vicar or Minor Canon caused its holder to be looked down upon with unchristian scorn. Still there is much in the position of our Vicars' Colleges which needs a thorough reform. A Vicars' College now often consists of two classes of men. One class are clergymen, married, living in distinct houses, holding livings or curacies, and making only an alternate appearance in the cathedral; the others are laymen, looked on simply as singers, and eking out their living by the practice of secular trades. I cannot think that such a College as this is at all in an ideal state. The post of Vicar or Minor Canon seems to me to be an excellent position for a young clergyman or a man preparing for holy orders; it does not strike me as suited for a permanent office, clerical or lay. In our days, when there is such a tendency to attach Theological Colleges to our cathedrals, I have sometimes thought that the old institutions and the new ones might well be worked together. Let the Vicars be theological students. Let them form the kernel of the Theological College, holding places analogous to fellowships or scholarships in academical Colleges. They would of course be chosen, as now, with reference to their musical capacity; the whole body would form the choir, and its clerical members would be assistants and pupils of the Canons, the Chancellor of course being their immediate head. In this way there would not be the same broad social distinction which there now is between the clerical and the lay members of the College. The Vicar would commonly be a layman at the time of his election, but, as at the academical Colleges, his office should be a title to Orders and should be vacated by marriage or preferment. And to give the members of the College a preference to livings in the gift of the Chapter would seem not to be an unfair privilege.

In saying all that I have said, I have taken very little notice of the unlucky Act of Parliament by which all these things are just now settled. It is plain that it must before long be altered one way or another, as it brings about a state of things

which satisfies nobody. It was drawn up by men who had no sympathy with our ancient Cathedral Foundations, and who had no knowledge of their nature or history. It was slightly amended in its progress by men who were better informed and better disposed. The natural result is that it is utterly unintelligible and contradictory, and that, when questions arise as to the construction of any part of it, one court of justice understands it one way, and one another. Some change in these matters must take place; and it is to be wished that those who seek to preserve, and who therefore are anxious to reform, should use their best efforts to put these ancient foundations into a state in which they may better fulfil their objects. I believe that in this, as in most matters, the true way to reform is to go back to the first principles of the institutions, making such changes as either the examples or the warning of later time may suggest to us. There never was a more beautiful scheme than the first conception of the Cathedral Churches of the Old Foundation. We have seen the evils which hindered that beautiful scheme from being thoroughly carried out. We have seen the attempts which were made to remedy those evils, attempts which sometimes led to the introduction of further evils, but which also sometimes suggest most valuable means of reform. By restoring the Bishop to his proper position in his own church, by making the dignities of the cathedral once more really living things, by making Residentiary Canons really resident, and by restoring to the Non-Residentiary Canons their proper place in the general body, we shall bring back our ancient cathedral churches to something like the state of things designed by their great founders and reformers. We shall bring them to a state of good order and usefulness, which we may trust will secure for them that permanence which, unless existing abuses are reformed, they cannot hope for.

Edward A. Freeman.

ESSAY VII.

CATHEDRAL REFORM:

PAST—PRESENT—FUTURE.

By CANON MASSINGBERD.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Capitular bodies were originally Missionary institutions—Corruptions—Ancient power—Evil of the system of Leases—Proper notion of Reform—Cathedral Acts—Their mistakes—Peculiars—Recent improvements—Appointments—Relation to Bishop—Spiritual cure—Dean's Jurisdiction—Chapter patronage.

CATHEDRAL REFORM:

PAST—PRESENT—FUTURE.

Semper ego auditor tantum?

I WAS lately told, with "gushing" kindness, by an amiable friend, who is a great Cathedral Reformer, that he is quite willing that the present race of Canons should be permitted to *die out*. I might have asked if he remembered that the "present race of Canons" are the immediate successors of those who had been permitted to "die out" after the great measure of so-called Cathedral Reform about forty years ago, and that they came in under the operation of that law to carry out those great reforms which were then supposed to have been inaugurated.

But, in order to form an estimate of what was done at that time, and of what requires now to be done, it seems necessary that we should first have a just conception of the original purpose and intention of Capitular institutions; and this can only be obtained by going back to the origin of them. As for supposing that the sole purpose of endowing them with broad lands and tithes, and investing them with a certain dignity could have been in order to build splendid Churches and keep up gorgeous worship, the idea is preposterous. It is quite otherwise where a Bishop and his missionary staff were congregated at the episcopal seat and engaged in the evangelisation of the City and surrounding country. Then it was quite natural that splendid services should be at once the solace and the glory of those so employed, whenever the love of Christian hearts should supply them with the means. But that such accessories should ever have been the end of Cathedral institutions is simply inconceivable; and therefore it is

equally inconceivable that any notions of Reform should end in such conceptions.

Now this notion of a Missionary Institution is that which is put forward in the "First Report of the Cathedral Commission," and, although it is not carried out in its results, it is plain from such authority that there is good foundation for it. We may therefore conceive of a Missionary Bishop, such as Aidan or St. Patrick, or such as our Anglo-Saxon Missionaries, Williboard or St. Boniface, surrounding himself with his missionary clergy at the spot which he should choose for himself as the centre of his apostolic labours. I am able to quote the case of one of our own Missionary Bishops, who supplied himself with the form for admission of Canons to our society as that which he should adopt in the admission of his missionary associates. Nor is it necessary that such missionaries should be quite confined to heathen lands. We have some trace in the history of each of the above named Anglo-Saxon Bishops, of their having encountered some rivalry from the Frankish Clergy already settled in their neighbourhood. For it seems that the parochial system, excellent as it is in itself, was not, at that time, deemed altogether to supersede missionary efforts.

And now, if we carry on our thoughts from such an origin to the more regular and definite establishment of Diocesan Episcopacy, it will seem so natural as to be almost a necessary consequence that the Bishop should gather around him some of his principal Presbyters, who should consult with him in the government of his Diocese, and be as it were his emissaries in carrying on the religious work of which he was the centre throughout the district assigned to him. Such a body would be endowed with lands, as the Bishop himself was; and churches founded by him or them, or given to them by pious laymen, would be supplied by them with missionary priests, their substitutes or *vicarii*; the Cathedral itself, the centre of life in the Diocese, would be beautified, the noblest models of divine service cultivated, education provided for the future ministers of the Church, and Schools of Divinity, in its highest sense, cherished and promoted.

Doubtless all this is but an ideal picture. We know but too well what complaints there were in the Middle Ages of the deterioration of this system: Canons turning courtiers and

leaving their stalls to be occupied by their Vicars; young gentlemen in attendance on the Dean shooting their cross-bows in the Nave and breaking the painted windows, or sitting late over their cups in the chambers attached to the Minster; and even a Dean himself delated to the Bishop for pulling down one side of the cloister to make room for his own stables. One other thing must be mentioned. It is very easy to draw invidious pictures of the once flourishing condition of the Schools of Divinity at some of our great Cathedrals. But they who do so might do well to remember that it was by the act of the greatest Bishops and other illustrious benefactors that these schools were removed to the Universities, when they founded Colleges there with pious munificence, in order to provide the opportunity for the youth of their Dioceses of pursuing their studies with all the advantages which those great institutions could supply. Is it intended by those who paint such pictures that the time has actually come when we must give up the Universities, forfeit the Colleges so founded, and begin again with Schools of Divinity around our Cathedrals? If this is not intended, why draw comparisons as to the present state of things?

Still, the traces of the former intention of these institutions had remained, even to our day, and much of the substance of their power for good was capable of revival. The Chapter was the elective Body of the Diocese, and however restricted, their voice in the election of their Bishop was not, nor is it yet, suppressed. But they were, and perhaps still are, much more than this. In the vacancy of a See, the jurisdiction of the Diocese centred in them, or in the individual member of their body,* usually the Dean, to whom was committed the guardianship of the spiritualities of the Diocese. It could only be in this way that the affairs of a Diocese were carried on during those long intervals when King John or other sovereigns kept bishopricks in their hands for many years together, or even Queen Elizabeth who kept the See of Oxford vacant during great part of her reign. It is said that the licence of a Bishop Suffragan must be renewed by the Chapter before he can

* Not always: for Strype mentions an instance to the contrary in the time of Henry VIII.

exercise his episcopal functions during a vacancy, and it was in this way that the Chapter of the See of Utrecht kept up the episcopal status of their interesting community, when they had once lost the succession, by electing their Archbishop and carrying on the work of the diocese until they obtained consecration for him from a French titular Archbishop of Athens. And surely this example shows how rightfully Archbishop Parker and his Suffragans might plead that they derived their jurisdiction by the election of the Chapters, while they obtained their episcopal office by consecration from Bishops who had held Sees in England. An instance of the exercise of such jurisdiction during a vacancy may be found in the life of the great De Marca, the famous Canonist and Archbishop of Paris, who was taken ill after his election, while it was doubtful whether the Pope would ratify the election of so extreme a Gallican; whereupon the Chapter of Notre Dame ordered prayers to be said for his recovery throughout the Diocese.

It was ruled by the Council of Trent, in its XXIVth Session, in the 16th Decree on Reformation, that "during the vacancy of the Episcopal See the Chapter should elect one or more administrators (*économes*), and within the term of eight days it should elect a Vicar General, and in default of this, the right to appoint one should devolve on the Metropolitan; and that when the new Bishop should be chosen, he should make him give account of his administration, and should have power to punish those who should have misbehaved." *

It appears that in Spain, at the time of the Council of Trent, the Chapters had become entirely independent of the Bishops; an abuse indeed! but which was only partially remedied. †

The question is how far it was possible to have recovered something of the original and proper notion of Missionary Life in a Diocese, by means of the Chapters, at the time of the passing of the Cathedral Act, and whether any such possibility still remains.

The great misfortune and the great obstacle seems to have been in the mediæval custom of leases, renewable by fines. It may seem a paradox to attribute so much to this single cause,

* Father Paul (Ed. Courayer), vol. ii. 694.
† Pallavacini, lxxvii. cap. 3, 24.

and doubtless there were other causes. But it is not difficult to see that this afforded at once a temptation to selfishness, and precluded to a great extent the possibility of improvement. There was no surplus revenue properly so called, and the actual revenue was so fluctuating that in some years it was as far below as in others it was above what it ought to have been. The remedy would have been to place a limit upon the incomes of all future members of the Capitular body, which has now actually been done, and then to give the same power to them by law which has been given to Colleges at the Universities, of borrowing money upon their leases for current expenses, while they were running them out, and so getting into their own hands those endowments which had long been hardly more than nominally their own.

It is to be feared (and this must be said in justice to the Episcopal members of the bench who assented to what was done) that much difficulty might have been found in carrying such a law against the opposition of the lessees. For it might be almost amusing, if it did not excite a different feeling, to observe the anxiety with which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in their earlier reports especially, take credit to themselves for having *given contentment to the lessees*. Why contentment, except that they had conveyed to them the freehold of the Church property on very favourable terms?

The course here suggested not having been adopted, as it has been in the case of Colleges, or as it exists in the case of great London companies and similar corporations, the consequence has been that while these last have been enabled to re-endow their Livings, and to exercise all sorts of liberality, the Chapters have remained weighted with all the odium of large nominal estates, and, worse still, of large tithe property, from which they derived only small and casual profits, while it was reckoned to them at its full annual value; and they were often reproached by the inhabitants, and even by the clergy of such places, as if they were the actual proprietors.

Had the different course here suggested been adopted, it is almost tantalising to compare the results with those which now exist. The great tithes of all the Parishes belonging either to the Chapters or to individual members of them would have gradually come into their hands for disposal, leaving ample

funds for their own income (limited as above) from other endowments. They would naturally have given, at least the greater part of the tithes of each parish to the respective Vicars, reserving perhaps what might have been required for building and maintaining Schools and for Church restoration and building. In connexion with this it would have been natural to revive the ancient practice of "going the progress," of which some records remain since the Restoration, as it is still continued in the case of Colleges. The Canon to whose office, in turn, this might fall, would have been simply a home missionary. He would preach at the churches he visited, he would inspect the schools, he would inspire life into the parochial work; and his visits would be welcomed as representing a beneficent institution intimately connected with the parish.

Nor is it out of place to observe how important it would have been, at the time when pluralities were suddenly abolished, to have provided a counterpoise, by the re-endowment of Livings in the patronage of the Church, for the great diminution in number of those Clergy who may now look forward to obtaining a competent maintenance in the clerical profession. Not that it was not right and necessary that pluralities should cease, but that the consequences here referred to were hardly so much as noticed, and are only now beginning to be observed.* And in this point of view it is very doubtful whether any good was done by depriving individual members of Chapters of their individual patronage. When a Dean of Lincoln (for example) was Patron of above twenty livings, and when each of his fifty-two Prebendaries was Patron of his own Prebend, it could not but be that men would thus be introduced into the ministry, connected with clerical life, and with some reasonable prospect of a maintenance. All this is now at end, when the only hope is the precarious one of commending themselves to some Bishop to whom they and their friends are totally unknown. Thus it comes about that few, in comparison, of the sons of the Clergy are trained for the sacred ministry, and the *traditions* of clerical life are being broken up.

But there is an answer to all this. It is said that it was

* Except, perhaps, in a small treatise entitled "Church Reform without Legislation," printed by Rivingtons in 1833.

absolutely necessary to sequester the remaining revenues of the Church to a great extent, in order to provide clergy for the enormous increase of population. Fully admitting the necessity, I reply that there was another way actually proposed at the time.* The proposal was that the Convocation should have been permitted and encouraged to vote a large amount by taxation of the larger benefices, and especially of the capitular estates, to be devoted to that purpose. Had that been done, the Church would have been presented in its true light, as the great missionary institution; all the expenses of a "Commission" would have been saved; and the Laity, when they saw all clerical tithes restored, would have learned to follow the example, instead of thinking, as is now almost always the case, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have funds at their disposal equal to all the necessities of the case: so that people are quite satisfied with building Churches, and leaving the Clergy unendowed.

But that which, perhaps, has tended more than anything else to deprive the Capitular bodies of their influence and power for good, has been the abolition of *Peculiar Jurisdiction*. No doubt these "Peculiars" had been, at the time, in many respects, grievously neglected. No doubt that neglect had become a crying scandal. But it is hardly consistent with any notion of the Missionary work of the Chapter throughout the Diocese, that the Dean should cease to have any jurisdiction in those parishes and over those churches which belonged either to him or to the Body over which he presided. Up to that time, the Dean held visitations and delivered charges, and exercised all functions within his peculiar which now belong to Archdeacons. And if there is anything in what has been said about the Chapters exercising a religious influence as Rectors in the parishes which belong to them, it could not fail to hamper, not to say extinguish, such influence when the Clergy of their own Parishes ceased to have any connexion with them from the time of their appointment. In those Cathedral cities where there is a "Deanery of Christianity," so called, the Dean

* In a letter (by the present writer) to the Archbishop of Canterbury "on the Right of Convocation to tax the Clergy for the benefit of the Church."—Rivingtons, 1835.

of the Cathedral appears formerly to have had an almost exclusive archidiaconal jurisdiction. Whether there was at that time a "Rural Dean of Christianity" also, I am not able to say. But it seems an anomaly that such an office should be held by a Clergyman of the City, however exemplary and respected, while the Dean himself is left without the slightest power beyond the walls of the Cathedral.

Such is a sketch of what seem to me the results of hasty legislation, under the influence of panic, and such the conditions under which the existing capitular bodies have had to exercise their functions; and it should be observed that the system thus inaugurated has hardly yet come into full operation. Some of the old members have hardly yet "died out," and some of the capitular estates are not, I believe, even yet surrendered—several only within the last few years. And now, before the New System, as I must take the liberty to call it, has come into full operation, there is a clamour for further "reform."

Under this present system it is not too much to say that services have been multiplied to an extent unknown before: that the Naves of Cathedrals have been utilized for Sermons to crowded congregations in a way that was not thought of forty years ago, weekly communion restored, devotional spirit cherished in the members of the Choirs, and much earnest work exhibited in the restoration of the material Fabric. What amount of labour has been brought to bear upon the mass of unchurchgoing people in Cathedral Cities, it is not perhaps for themselves to record. But the whole of this paper is designed upon the principle that the capitular work ought not to end in such things, but on the contrary only begins with it. To augment the income of the Priest-Vicars and Singing Men; to raise the education of the Choristers, to make it adequate to the requirements of the sons of Clergymen, or of boys designed for Holy Orders; to acquire, if possible, the means of training some of them for Holy Orders by admitting them again into the Choir as Singing Men; to appropriate houses within the Close, as the leases fall in, to such purposes as these; to assign other houses, perhaps to one or two of the Prebendaries, who might devote themselves to such work, or to the investigation and arrangement of Cathedral Records — all these are objects already contemplated, and more or less provided for in some

Cathedrals, and which no conceivable legislation can hasten, because the houses cannot as yet be obtained, though it might easily hinder them.

One of the matters most insisted upon of late, has been the mode of appointment to the higher Cathedral offices. The importance of good appointments has been referred to, but without any suggestion as to providing for it. There is no harm in the proposal that every such nomination should be accompanied by a statement of the grounds of it, though it would do no great good, and would imply a censure, often unmerited, on those with whom such appointments rest. But there are two particulars in which, if the existing Statutes of some Cathedrals were rigidly adhered to, the effect would be most beneficial. The first is, that none should be "called up into the greater residence," that is, made a Residentiary, who is not already a Prebendary; the second, that a specific office should be assigned to each Canonry, and the fulfilment of its duties be strictly enforced.

The Prebendaries are all Canons, and in the greater Chapter they have equal votes; but it very early became the practice for some of them to undertake a definite term of residence, and to be entitled to a share of the capitular revenues. As for the notion that "the taking a turn of residence must come to an end," it is almost inconceivable how such a notion can come to be entertained; as if it were possible that four or five men could jointly carry on all the business of a complicated machine without taking it in turn to superintend. Hardly less wise is it to revive the joke about the incoming and outgoing Residentiary. Nothing of the kind can ordinarily happen where each—as he ought to have, and by the original constitution of our Cathedrals always had—has his own house of residence; and at the very time when this was last referred to, three Canons were actually in residence, besides the Dean, at the Cathedral from which the experience of the present writer is almost exclusively derived; the fourth Canon's permanent abode, when not "in residence," being within two miles of his Cathedral Church. But to return: the Statutes render it absolutely necessary that it be a Prebendary who shall be called up to the office of a Residentiary,—no other person can be so; and the way in which this has been evaded when a

person not a Prebendary is nominated, has been by first making him a Prebendary and then in the same breath promoting him to a residentiary stall, with the words, not very reverently applied, "Friend, go up higher." * In the Chapter with which I am concerned, out of five appointments to Residentiaryships during the last episcopate (and none has taken place since), every person so appointed has been either already a Prebendary or an Archdeacon. If this rule were strictly observed, it would greatly enhance the importance of the office of Prebendary, and would no less tend towards a good selection of men qualified for the higher office.

The other point is that of attaching a definite office to each Canonry, and that also is either already done or may be done without legislation. In view of the missionary work of the Diocese, it seems wisely done to have assigned two canonries to Archdeaconries. At Lincoln we had recently three, though it would not seem wise to make this rule absolute, both as restricting the Bishop's choice, and as placing obstacles in the way of the resignation of an Archdeaconry when illness or age may prevent the fulfilment of its duties. But men of weight and influence are almost sure to be chosen for such an office, and therefore qualified for Canonries. Of the other offices, I shall speak only of that to which the duties of Prælector in Divinity are attached. If that be made a reality, a suitable selection would of course be a necessity. In connection with the same office, by some statutes, the superintendence of schools in the City or Diocese is required. It might have seemed a golden opportunity at the present moment, if the clergy were willing to accept it, of allowing the Canon to whom such office is assigned by the statutes of the Cathedral to undertake gratuitously the office of Inspector of religious education. Of course, a Prælector in Divinity implies a School of Divinity,

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* It was in consequence of such a restriction that the Chapter of Exeter were precluded from electing, as their Dean, the nominee of the Crown. The then recent law forbade them to make him a Canon, since no more Canonries were to be filled up. They proceeded therefore, according to their legal right, to the election of their Sub-Dean, and in the following Session of Parliament the elective rights of all Cathedrals were destroyed as regards Deaneries, and they all became donatives of the Crown. This is perhaps the most high-handed act of Parliamentary Supremacy that Cathedral bodies have as yet experienced.

and a School of Divinity may imply training for Holy Orders; and it is not wonderful if Bishops should still cling to the hope that the Universities are not so totally ruined as places of clerical education, as to make it necessary to set up such Schools of Divinity at their Cathedrals as existed before Colleges were founded.* But, if men are selected able and willing to undertake such *offices*, it will not be very difficult for them to find some way of exercising their functions.

It hardly need be suggested that in those, alas! too numerous, cases where commissions have to be issued by the Bishop in regard to clerical offences—an office which none can covet and which all would gladly avoid—the Bishop's natural counsellors seem to be pointed out for such an office. And it is not unimportant that men should have some experience and familiarity with the mode of proceeding in such cases, so as not to be completely strangers to them when called upon to act.

The question of the relation of the Chapter to the Bishop is a very delicate one, which ought not, however, to be passed by. There seems to be an impression, happily not realised within the writer's personal experience, of the existence of a sort of antagonism between the Bishop and his Chapter. The very existence of such a feeling is in itself a hindrance of the gravest kind to the influence and utility of both. A notion seems to prevail in some quarters, that the Bishop's relation to his Chapter as Visitor is similar to that of a Visitor to a College at the Universities, and therefore that his counsel may not be invoked in any matter which may possibly come before him as arbitrator or judge. But *are* the conditions of the two cases similar? The Visitor of a College is not a member of the College, and it would certainly be improper for individual members of the College to carry their complaints before him privately. So it would in the case of a Chapter; but still the Bishop is a member of his own Chapter, as it stands on record in the First Cathedral Report. And if some way could be found by which the Bishop might sometimes assist at the deliberations of the Chapter, he then would be able to discuss

* The writer is at liberty to mention that a scheme of this latter kind has been drawn up by a Committee of Clergymen, in which the Prælector in Divinity was to take an important part in the Diocese to which he belongs.

with his natural counsellors, in a friendly and cordial spirit, many matters of importance, and would become aware alike of their difficulties and of their intentions. Why should they not *invite* him to assist at their annual audit? or on some one other occasion in the year? There is a difficulty where funds are concerned, in admitting another who is not concerned in them. And this seems fatal to the proposal sometimes made of inviting the larger Chapter to consult with the Residentiaries. But with the Bishop it need not be so, especially now that the incomes are limited by law, and the chief question is as to the expenditure of other capitular revenues. In this way one should think that the Bishop would become, as it were, a party to the intentions of his Chapter, and then there would be no difficulty in discussing them freely and cordially with a view to their accomplishment.

There seems to be a notion in some quarters, that the Bishop is sometimes precluded by his Chapter from preaching in his own Cathedral: if any Chapter has ever done so, such a course was totally illegal, and those who should so act ought to be ashamed of themselves; but it is quite otherwise where preaching turns are assigned by the Cathedral Statutes to individual Prebendaries or other members of the Chapter, and among them to the Bishop himself. The Dean has no power to send to the Prebendary in turn—who may have arrived the night before prepared to fulfil his office, and will be liable to a fine if he omit it—and acquaint him that the Bishop will supersede him in the Pulpit. It may or may not be advisable to alter the Statute so as to give more turns to the Bishop; but when the multitudinous avocations of the Bishop are taken into account, it may perhaps be best to leave him the power, which he now has, to occupy all vacant turns, and always to take a Sermon in the Nave at his own pleasure. And with this view, it would seem that, if he desire it, vacant turns should always be announced to him. It is assumed that the Bishop has an inherent right to occupy any pulpit in his diocese, and *a fortiori* that of his own Cathedral, unless it has been assigned to another by his predecessors or himself.

There remain some matters of importance in regard to the spiritual and religious influence of the Chapter, on which a few words may be said. Some Cathedral Closes are extra-parochial,

and are supposed to be subject to the spiritual cure of one of the Minor Canons, under the title of Sacristan. Others are within the boundaries of parishes which existed before the foundation of the See. Can it be intended that the Choir-men, the Choristers, even the Minor Canons and the members of the Chapter themselves and their families and households should be within the spiritual cure of a Parish Priest whose church they do not attend, and where they do not communicate? If they should feel it their duty to comply with the rubrical requirement of "signifying their names" before communion, can it be that they should signify them to him? The object of putting such an extreme case is to shew that there must be, and ought to be, some right in the Cathedral Body to exercise some pastoral charge over the inferior members of their Body, and one should think also, at least, towards such of the inhabitants as elect to use the Cathedral as their Parish Church: for it is by law the Parish Church of the Diocese; and if so, the notion now sometimes propounded that the Cathedral Clergy "are everything within the walls of the Cathedral and nothing whatever beyond them," must be convicted of manifest absurdity.

How far the influence of the Cathedral might even yet be exercised in those Parishes which still remain in their Patronage, is a matter for grave consideration. Unhappily the future endowments of Chapters seem likely to be in places where they have not the Patronage of the Living; and the practice of again granting long leases of twenty-one years to their tenants before they make over the lands for re-endowment, which the Commissioners persist in in spite of remonstrance, is calculated as far as possible to leave them powerless for good by destroying their influence. But it does not yet seem hopeless to restore the practice of "going the progress," at least to all Parishes within the Chapter's Patronage, to preach and inspect the Schools.

It will not be a surprise to any who may have read the foregoing remarks, that the writer is not an advocate of further legislation on the subject. Whether it might not be well that the several Chapters should depute their Dean with one other member to meet and discuss their position, and then perhaps apply for a canon to authorise and enforce such fresh regu-

lations as should be advised by such a conference, may be worthy of consideration.*

But if legislation must be resorted to, there is one restriction so commonly advocated, and in such confident terms, that it may seem to demand some notice. It is announced, as if by a sort of *conclamatum est*, that Canons must be restricted in future from holding any parochial cure, and this on the ground, among others, of abolishing *pluralities*. A plurality used to mean a double Cure of Souls. If therefore a Canonry is merely an office and not a cure of Souls, it is not quite plain that this reason will stand. But the question seems to demand some further attention. Suppose five men of some mark and intelligence to be collected around the Cathedral and obliged to constant residence, yet without direct cure of souls, what are they to do? It is not easy for them, if right, to interfere in other people's parishes beyond the moderate manner above adverted to. If they wish to take gratuitously the spiritual charge of a Hospital, or a Workhouse, or a Prison, they will find they are depriving some poorer Brethren of that which would eke out their scanty income. Nor is it at all certain that the result might not be to set up a class of clergy apart from, and in some degree antagonistic to, the parochial clergy, as in the case of secular and regular clergy before the Reformation. Preaching too is, and ought always to be, an important part of a Canon's duty. But how is a man to preach effectually who has not learned by the bedside of the sick, and in all the multitudinous avocations of the parochial cure. Again, many Canonries are so moderately endowed that the leading men of the Diocese would refuse to exchange the quiet independence of parochial life for an invidious position with no definite duties. Nay, even in the case of those that are best endowed, there have not been wanting instances already where men have declined to separate themselves from that parochial work which they have learned to love as their chief and highest employment. Thus these offices would be liable to fall to younger men, perhaps men of ability but without experience, carrying no weight, and entirely unsuitable to be the Bishop's

* This was written before the announcement of the Archbishops' invitation to a similar meeting at Lambeth.

counsellors. Not that it may not be well that such appointments should be sometimes given on condition of resignation of a benefice; while, on the other hand, it may sometimes be very desirable that a populous benefice in the Cathedral city should be held with a Canonry by an active and gifted Priest. But yet not so as that he could not resign the benefice when any infirmity should come upon him, which he could not do if the two were consolidated by law. But that which is contended for is that no harsh line should be drawn by law, but that it should be left to the Bishop to exercise his own discretion, instead of tying up his hands as if Churchmen could never be trusted to act on disinterested motives. Such restrictions are quite as likely to hinder a satisfactory arrangement as to promote it. Besides, if there be anything in what has been said about the Missionary Work of a Diocese, it would seem that a Canon, residing part of the year in a distant part of it, might be very useful there in promoting all kinds of good works, and spreading the influence which ought to circulate from the centre.

One thing, however, in case of resort being had to legislation, ought to be strenuously contended for; and that on the ground that it would be, in a great degree, merely a restoration of a right very inconsiderately abolished. The Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean in the Cathedral City, and over the Parishes where the Patronage still belongs to the Chapter, ought by all means to be restored. It is no interference with episcopal rights that is contended for. The "Peculiar" would be no more exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction than any other Parishes in the Diocese. The difference merely would be that such parishes would be within the "ordinary" jurisdiction of the Dean, instead of being transferred, as they have been, to that of the Archdeacon.*

It might be well too if so much limitation were placed upon the tenure of benefices together with Canonries, as that no benefice shall be so held beyond the limits of the Diocese.

Much is said about the Patronage of Chapters, on which a restriction was imposed by the Cathedral Act limiting the per-

* It is believed that the "ordinary" jurisdiction of the Dean *within the Cathedral* has not been abolished. And if so, it would seem that he still has the power of holding a visitation, as formerly, to which he may cite the Prebendaries and Minor Canons, as well as the Residentiaries.

sons to be presented to Chapter Livings, so that no clergyman shall be eligible who has not been licensed five years "in the same diocese." It is not easy to find a way to a further limitation which might be likely *to work*, except in one respect by setting apart certain livings or certain turns at the option of Minor Canons, though with some limitation as to length of service. If it were further provided that the Chapter should meet, on every vacancy, and jointly proceed to an election, this might seem to throw the patronage into the hands of a majority of three, and thus cause rivalries and discontent. Nor does there seem any other way except to trust the individual members to use the very few turns they can ever hope to have, in order to reward or provide for those whom they know to be deserving. The fact is that the Chapter always jointly *presents*, and it is not easy to see how it *could* be provided by the law that the several members should not agree to *nominate* by rotation.

Others may be able to propose more important plans and more worthy of consideration. But, considering the harm that has been done already by hasty legislation, it seems to the present writer very doubtful whether it be not wiser to leave the "reformed" Chapters as the Cathedral Act has left them, than to risk the possibility of doing further mischief.

F. C. MASSINGBERD.

ESSAY VIII.

WELSH CATHEDRALS.

By CANON PEROWNE.

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WELSH CATHEDRALS.

"Er heddwch nac er rhyfel,
Gwenynen farw ni chasgl fêl."*

It will be my object in this Paper to offer some suggestions towards the reform of our Cathedral system as it exists in Wales. Certainly if the anomalies of the system are everywhere conspicuous, if the complaint of its inefficiency is general, those anomalies and that inefficiency are not less glaring in Wales than in England. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the four Welsh Cathedrals have so many features in common, that they may be grouped together as a matter of course, and readily embraced in one view. In their geographical position, in their original constitution, in their present capabilities and requirements, there is the greatest possible difference. Probably in all these respects, the three Cathedrals of St. David's, Llandaff, and St. Asaph,† differ as widely as any three English Cathedrals that could be mentioned. These Cathedrals may be said to reflect the different aspects of the dioceses to which they belong; and what three dioceses can be found presenting stronger contrasts to the eye than the three dioceses I have named? St. Asaph is small in extent, contains no large towns, has many good livings, an almost aristocratic clergy, many wealthy landed proprietors. St. David's covers a very large area, the livings are of little value, the population is chiefly agricultural, and there is but one considerable town in the diocese. Llandaff comprises several large, thriving, rapidly

* "Whether for peace or for war,
A dead bee gathers no honey."

† Bangor, it is allowed, has a closer resemblance to St. Asaph, than any of the other three have to each other, and therefore it is omitted in this comparison.

growing towns, such as Cardiff, Neath, Merthyr, &c., and the country is dotted over with busy hives of industry in coal and iron. To this marked difference in the dioceses corresponds the difference in the Cathedrals. That of St. Asaph is situated in a little quiet country town; that of St. David's in a remote village, approached through a wild and desolate country; that of Llandaff in immediate proximity to one of the most rapidly increasing sea-ports of South Wales.

These differences were wholly overlooked in the last sweeping measure of Cathedral Reform. The four Welsh Sees were lumped together, and the same measure meted out to all the Cathedral Chapters. Hasty and unwise as that reform was in many respects, its hastiness and unwisdom were in nothing so conspicuous, as in the way in which it dealt with the Cathedral bodies in Wales. No doubt the uniformity of the system was admirable;—in the main, a striking similarity of outline was secured. The parliamentary shears clipped the trees into drear monotonous regularity, pruning away all stray luxuriance, and not suffering any of that wantonness of growth which, in the English Cathedrals, has not been regarded as a defect. But two of the worst features of our present system are to be traced to the last Welsh Cathedrals Act,—the endowment of the Archdeaconries with Canonries requiring the residence of the Archdeacons for three months in the Cathedral towns, and the miserably low fixed scale of incomes for the Deans and Canons. These provisions were wrong in themselves, but they were still more unjust in their application to dioceses utterly unlike in all respects, except in the mere fact of their being within the borders of the Principality. They were, however, rigid in their force. Hence, even where, as at Llandaff, the Chapter was a new creation, still, because it was within the charmed circle, the Commissioners were only at liberty to adhere with exact fidelity to the recognised model: they could not with gracious liberality exceed it. No show of reason can be alleged for such a system. It would have been quite as reasonable to have grouped together, say the three Cathedrals of Lincoln, Peterborough, and Ely, as all lying in the fen-country of the East, and to have reduced them all to the same uniform outline, as on the same principle to make the Welsh Cathedrals the victims of a system of geography. It would be

foolish to attribute to those who devised the scheme any design of injuring the Church in Wales, yet if they had deliberately formed such design, they could not have aimed their blow with more precision. The Church in Wales has suffered in nothing more than in this, that the stamp of inferiority has been set upon her, by those who ought to have striven to the utmost to show, that there is no difference essentially between the Church in Wales and the Church in England. Partly owing to the difference of language, partly from other causes which I need not now enumerate, no doubt the Church in Wales has been too much isolated. No doubt, also, she has been impoverished. But she need not be degraded,—she need not be reminded of her poverty,—she need not be thrust back into her isolation. Whatever changes may be made, the Welsh Cathedrals ought to reap the full benefit of them. Dignitaries in Wales ought in all respects to be placed on a level with dignitaries in England; no rigid rules should be laid down, but a careful inquiry should be made as to the peculiar circumstances of each Diocese and each Cathedral town, and reforms should be framed accordingly. The demand for further reform is now so general, and the broad principles on which it should be conducted are so well understood and so fully recognized, that we may indulge a reasonable hope that some well-considered equitable measure will speedily be passed. It is in that hope that I venture now to pass briefly in review the Welsh Cathedrals, and to offer some suggestions towards an improvement of the system.

I. THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. DAVID'S demands our attention first, as belonging to the see which was originally the primatial see of the Principality. Its position is in every respect peculiar. In the first place, it stands utterly alone, a magnificent relic of the past, with which the living present seems strangely at variance. There is something singularly fascinating in its solitary grandeur. Behind it is the sea, beating for ever the awful and precipitous cliffs; before it lies a monotonous stretch of country, treeless and bare, broken only here and there by thinly-scattered human habitations. No one who has ever visited the spot can forgot the impression produced as you first come in sight of the Cathedral, lying couched in its romantic dell at your feet; and the impression is in no way diminished upon a nearer survey.

You marvel to see such a building in such a spot. Closely adjoining are the ruins of a College; and at a little further distance are the remains of a Bishop's Palace, which must once have been one of the most imposing palaces in the Island. This Cathedral, with its splendid appurtenances,—how came it to be lodged here at the extreme verge of the world? The city now is nothing more than a Welsh village. What was it in the days of Bishop Gower, who built that princely residence?

But how can such a Church be utilized in such a place?

The choir and the nave have recently been restored at a considerable cost; and it was high time that the restoration should be undertaken, if the building was not to become a ruin. But it will be asked, are considerations of archæology and of sentiment sufficient to justify the outlay? Those to whom the past and the associations of the past are dear will say, "Yes, it would have been sheer barbarism to have suffered so splendid a pile to perish." That is an answer which will doubtless satisfy the archæologist and the man of taste. But there are others who will ask, "Why restore the building, unless it be for some practical purpose? Can it be turned to profitable account? Can any occupation be found for the Cathedral body in such a spot which justifies their retention?" These are questions which in this utilitarian age will be put and must be answered. And it must be confessed it is difficult to answer them. How can you create a centre of life and activity in a city which is really a small village, and which has nothing but its Cathedral, its fine air, and its romantic situation to recommend it? It is sixteen miles from the nearest railway station:—"Sixteen miles, Sir, and seventeen hills," said the driver to the writer of this Essay when he visited the spot. It is almost at one extremity of the Diocese; it is far removed from all the busiest and most thriving towns; it does not lie in the path of progress.

You could never make of it a Diocesan centre. You could not plant a College there; for students would not come to you, if—to say nothing of a long railway journey—they must post sixteen miles along a difficult road. You could not create a School of Music, for you have only a village to choose your choristers from. You cannot assemble Preachers there; and

if you did, they would have but a small congregation. Before the restoration of the Cathedral the whole Welsh congregation was accommodated in one of the transepts: it would be lost and swallowed up in the nave, which is no doubt the proper place for it. Considering the locality and the opportunities it affords, it may be asked, What can a Dean do resident there for eight months? What can four Canons do, each taking his turn for three months? They may make a very pleasant holiday of their residence; but how can they contribute materially to the good of the "city" or to the good of the Diocese? One Canon would suffice, if constantly in residence, for the spiritual wants of the parish; and the Dean, after paying proper attention to the Cathedral services and the sustentation of the fabric, would still have abundant leisure on his hands.

But specious as these objections seem, they are not wholly unanswerable.

1. In the first place, it is very important that the patronage at present in the hands of the Bishop of St. David's should not be diminished. In a diocese in which the livings generally are so poor, it is clearly desirable that the Bishop should have the power of conferring the distinction and the emoluments of a Canonry on clergymen who may have small means and great merits. These appointments, at once rewards for, and incentives to, labour, are not so numerous that they ought, in any instance, to be lightly sacrificed. For this reason, I do not think it would be advisable to annex two of the canonries residentiary to two of the Archdeaconries; and although the Act 6 & 7 Vict. allows this arrangement to be made, "so soon as conveniently may be" after the passing of the Act, fortunately no such arrangement has as yet been made in the Diocese of St. David's.

2. In the next place, though St. David's can never become, what so many Cathedrals are now fast becoming, a centre of Diocesan life, its Close need not be a hive of drones. Occupation might be found for its Chapter.

(i.) The diocese of St. David's covers so large an area that there is ample room for a Suffragan Bishop; and the Dean, with a suitable addition to his income, might very properly be suffragan. There would be this further advantage in such

an arrangement, that thus one of the two Bishops might confine himself to the English-speaking portion of the population and the other to the Welsh.

(ii.) The Cathedral being the parish church of the place, it is obviously desirable that the incumbency of the Parish should have a Canonry attached to it. Happily the present incumbent is also a Canon of the Cathedral; but it would be wise, considering how small the value of the living is, to make the canonry and the living go together as a matter of course—to make the one, in fact, a part of the endowment of the other. A man of ability and earnestness, and an effective Welsh preacher, holding such a position, might kindle a light upon that headland which should be seen far and wide.

3. Although it would be almost impossible, and certainly very undesirable now, to plant a Theological College under the shadow of the Cathedral, yet the Cathedral might be connected with the existing College at Lampeter. A canonry might be attached, as has been suggested by the Bishop of St. David's,* to the Principalship of the College. By the terms of the Royal Charter, in accordance with which the College was incorporated, the Principal is Professor of Greek and Senior Professor of Theology. A large proportion of those who from time to time recruit the ranks of the clergy in Wales, are educated in the College, and sit at his feet. It is therefore natural and reasonable that the Principal should be a person holding a recognized Diocesan position. The possession of a Canonry would not indeed shed any lustre on the Professor's chair;—the teacher of the highest truth has a dignity beyond that of titles;—but it would be a link of a permanent kind between the College and the Diocese, the value of which will not be denied.

4. We will venture to suppose, then, that the Dean and two of the Canons have duties attached to their several offices such as I have described. There yet remain two more Canons, to whom it is more difficult to assign definite work. If they were allowed, as at present, to hold their canonries with other

* See his remarks in the Appendix of the First Report to the Cathedral Commissioners, appointed Nov. 10, 1852. The Bishop, I find, also suggests that the Dean might be a Suffragan.

preferment, this might be an advantage to the Diocese, even if it were none to the Cathedral: and this would especially be the case if the canonries were conferred upon the Incumbents of town livings, or if they were conferred upon men distinguished for literary attainments.

5. A suggestion of another kind may be made. Nowhere else, with so much prospect of success, might the experiment be tried which has been urged with so much earnestness and eloquence by the Dean of Norwich, of consecrating the calm peace and retirement of the Cathedral Close to the purposes of sacred study, of high meditation and holy communing with God. He describes very truly the high pressure of the age. He thinks it of the greatest importance that some at least of those who are to be the guides and the counsellors of the Church should "insist upon leisure for devotion and leisure for study." He feels how hard it is "to secure this leisure in this busy age when one occupation treads so close upon the heels of another," but he feels also that "some amount of it we must obtain at any hazard, if the one great concern of life—'the Kingdom which cometh not with observation'—is to be forwarded within us." Here then, our Cathedrals may be turned to good account; they may "hold in check the morbid tendencies of the age." They may supply those occasions for study, they may become those nurseries of learning, which are the great want of our time. "Here are quiet shades, solemn cloisters, opportunities of seclusion and comparative leisure," which may be used as they have been used, "even in times which we think dead ones, for the cultivation of learning and devotion, and for the nursing of meditative spirits with high and holy thoughts."

It is impossible not to sympathize with aspirations such as these, though one can hardly venture to hope that they will ever be realized. Certainly, this vision of studious retirement and holy peace can hardly be expected to descend upon the Chapters of Cathedrals in our large cities. But for the choice of Menevia as the abode of a Bishop and his Cathedral clergy, its solitary and remote situation was originally alleged "as being a place fitted for heavenly contemplation, and far withdrawn from the tumults of the world." The lapse of ages has made no difference in this respect. "Certainly," say the most

recent historians of St. David's, "if heavenly contemplation were the sole or principal duty incumbent on the chief portion of the Church, the site of the new archiepiscopate was admirably chosen; for it is difficult to conceive a scene which more forcibly realizes the idea of religious seclusion, than the isolated situation of St. David's, its stern and sombre landscapes, the total absence of anything like softness, its pure atmosphere and the presence of the "great and wide sea." Its geographical position is itself a parable: placed as nigh as possible to the setting sun, it seems to symbolize the triumphs of His kingdom Whose "dominion shall be from one sea to the other, and from the flood even to the world's end." *

II. At LLANDAFF the conditions are as unlike those of St. David's as it is possible to conceive. The Cathedral, instead of being placed in lonely grandeur at one extremity of the diocese, stands almost in its centre. Instead of being remote from the life of men, it is closely contiguous to one of the largest and most thriving towns of South Wales. Llandaff, which twenty years ago might have been regarded as a village-city, is now in fact a suburb of Cardiff. The Cathedral, thirty years ago, was in so dilapidated a condition, that its three western piers and its beautiful west front were a mere roofless ruin. That part of the interior which was used for service was hideously deformed by modern alterations. There was no organ, a few broken pipes being all that remained of it even a century before; a bass-viol had taken its place. There was no choir, the musical portion of the service being performed by the school children. No other Cathedral had suffered so severely. None had so nearly perished. The decay of the building, the marring of its architecture, were only symbolical of the decay of all that appertains to the Cathedral system as it is commonly in operation.

"In no other Cathedral," to quote the words of the Dean of Llandaff, "had the residence of the Canons ceased, or the daily service been suppressed; in no other Cathedral had the library of the Chapters been dispersed, and some of it burnt, as ours was in the Civil Wars, when, as Browne Willis

* History and Antiquities of St. David's, by W. Basil Jones and Edward A. Freeman, chap. vii. p. 236.

says, the cavaliers of the country, and the wives of several sequestered clergymen were invited in bitter mockery to the Castle of Cardiff by the rebels, on a cold winter's day, to warm themselves by the fire which was then made with a great heap of Common Prayer books, as well as a portion of our collection. By God's mercy, however, all this is altered now: our Cathedral is no more a ruin, but has been restored at a cost, on the whole, of about 30,000*l.*; choir and organ are once more heard within its walls; our daily service is again renewed. The office of Dean has been revived. The Canons are resident as in any other Cathedral city. We have commenced the collection of a Library, which may, we trust, be of use to the clergy of the Diocese as well as to ourselves; and we have a right, I think, to say with trust and thankfulness, that, looking to what we were, and to what we are, there is no restoration like our own." To this it may be added that there are three services every Sunday, attended by large congregations.

Much, however, as has been done, a great deal still remains to be done. If the Cathedral Staff is to do its work thoroughly —if the services of the Cathedral are to be made efficient—if the Mother Church of the Diocese is to be a centre of Diocesan life—a further reform, I believe, must be carried out, the nature of which I will endeavour to indicate.

And I rejoice to feel that I am relieved from what would otherwise be a heavy burden of responsibility in suggesting it, because in its main features this reform has already been recommended by the Dean of Llandaff,* with the entire concurrence of the other members of the Chapter.

Let me premise, however, that the Cathedral is also the parish church of Llandaff, and this fact must not be lost sight of in any changes that may be contemplated. The Dean and Chapter are now the rectors, and the two Minor Canons (who have taken the place of the senior and junior vicars, who were the vicarii of the Chapter), under an Order in Council of the 3rd February, 1858, have been licensed to the cure of souls in the parish of Llandaff as curates to the Dean and Chapter. The result is that, practically, the Dean is the rector. The

* In his Letter to the Archbishops, printed in the Return, &c., on Cathedral Establishments, dated 22nd June, 1871.

Canons have no defined parochial duties in Llandaff; and, coming only in rotation for three months, it is almost impossible for them to take any efficient share in the work of the parish, beyond preaching in the Cathedral, or to enter with a very warm interest into its organization. Any thoughtful man would hesitate to engage in the conduct of a parish, knowing that at the end of three months he must give place to another, who might take a wholly different view of its requirements. The more zealous a clergyman was, the more unsatisfactory he would probably consider such a state of things. It would always be difficult, and it might be exceedingly mischievous, to interfere with plans already in operation, even if better could be devised. And, unfortunately, the Canons have but little opportunity of conference with one another. On chapter days they meet only to part; and as there is but one residentiary house, it is only a lodging-house, which must cast out one tenant before it can receive another. It is at any rate far better that the management of the parish should be left entirely in the hands of the Dean and the Minor Canons, than that it should be subject to occasional interruption from the well-meant zeal of periodically recurring Canons.

But the truth is, the present system of residence, or rather of non-residence, is wholly indefensible. The evils inherent in the system are increased here, as in the other Welsh Cathedrals, by the provision of the Act of Parliament which annexes two of the Canonries to the two Archdeacons of the diocese, and requires the residence of the two Archdeacons in their turn as Canons. This is altogether a mistake. If an Archdeacon holds a Canonry, the Canonry ought to be adequately endowed, and he certainly ought to hold no other preferment. He cannot properly discharge his duties as an Archdeacon and as a Parish Priest, and at the same time be compelled to absent himself for three months from his parish, and it may be from his Archdeaconry also, where there will always be matters which require his attention and his presence. The Archdeacon of Llandaff might of course reside at Llandaff as well as at any other place in his Archdeaconry. And it might be urged that he would thus be able more vigorously and efficiently to discharge his archidiaconal duties, as being free from parochial cares, and as being presumably in constant intercourse with the Bishop.

On the other hand, I think it is on many accounts desirable that the Archdeacons should be parish priests, able to understand and sympathize with the wants of parishes. I believe, therefore, that the best course would be for the two Archdeacons to be altogether exempted from residence in the Cathedral Close. They should retain their stalls and at least their present endowments: they might have preaching turns assigned to them; they would have in all respects their present status in the Chapter; but they should not be called upon, as they now are, to leave their parishes for three months in the year, to say nothing of the additional two months of absence which the law now allows them to claim, if they think proper. Give them their own work, and give them a reasonable chance of doing it well.

The other two residentiary Canons "should reside at Llandaff as on their benefice, and subject to such provisions as to residence as are incident to any other benefice." Happily "there would be no difficulty as to houses of residence, as in addition to the one built by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the alternate use of the Canons, the Chapter are in possession of another, which would be very suitable for that purpose." Nothing certainly can be worse than the present system, which makes it impossible for any two of the Canons to be in residence at the same time, and which even necessitates an interval of some days between the going out of one Canon and the coming in of another. There are besides many other inconveniences, attaching to the common house, too obvious to need enumeration.

It would not be difficult to assign to each of these two resident Canons definite work and a sphere of labour quite sufficiently large to occupy them. One of them might be "charged with the pastoral duties of the parish of Llandaff, which are now said to belong to the capitular body collectively, but which were formerly discharged by the senior and the junior vicar as their vicarii or representatives (for which they were permitted to receive the vicarial tithes), and for which, under the Order in Council before alluded to, the two Minor Canons are now licensed as Curates to the Chapter."

It has been proposed to assign to the other Canon the duties of Librarian and keeper of the Cathedral records, and it has been suggested that he might also be employed as a Lecturer in

Divinity to students preparing for Holy Orders. He might, if necessary, be Diocesan Inspector of Schools. He might be expected to take a considerable share of the preaching in the Cathedral. In any case he need not be idle. Thus one of the two Canons might be the representative of the learning and theology of the Diocese; the other might be the representative of its activity; for the Parish of which the Cathedral is the Church ought to be a model parish, its Services model services.

The Minor Canons might continue as at present discharging the duties of the parish and of the Cathedral; but it is to be hoped that they may be relieved of the heavy burden at present thrown upon them, by the formation of a new cemetery for the populous district of Canton. It may be worth while also to consider whether some arrangement could not be made by which Minor Canons should be allowed to have a vote in the Chapter Meetings.

It may be said that with all these provisions for the work of the rest of the Cathedral body, the Dean has been wholly left out of sight. Ought he not, like the rest, to have his prescribed duties? I imagine that he is not likely at Llandaff to be idle. There is abundance of Diocesan work which he can hardly leave undone, if he would. But I think that in this Diocese, as in St. David's, it would be greatly to the advantage of the Church if the Dean were a Suffragan or a coadjutor Bishop.

According to the scheme which has just been sketched there would be full employment for all the members of the capitular body, and at the same time the best provision made for the wants of the parish. But it is obvious that if a permanent, instead of an occasional, residence is to be required of the Canons, the value of the Canonries must be raised. The cost of living is, I believe, quite as great at Llandaff as it is in London. And it is not wise to place men in a position where much is expected of them, and then to pare down their incomes till the disproportion between their rank and their means becomes ludicrous. Nor can any show of reason be alleged for the enormous disparity between the incomes of Deans and Canons in Wales and of Deans and Canons in England. They hold the same rank, they incur the same responsibilities, they have the same demands on their liberality to meet. The

income of a resident Canon ought to be at least 700*l.* per annum; that of a Dean, especially if he is also to be a Suffragan Bishop, not less than 1500*l.* per annum. Let it be remembered that no Canon in England has less than 500*l.* per annum, that most have considerably more, that no Dean in England can have less than 1000*l.* per annum, and that he may have as much as 2000*l.*; and let it be further remembered that Llandaff is in the vicinity of Cardiff, and that the Cathedral is the Mother Church of a thriving, busy, and rapidly-increasing population,* and that the wants of the Diocese must make large demands upon persons in the position of the Dean and Chapter, and it will not be thought that I am recommending an extravagant addition to their incomes.

The Non-Residentiary Canons are on the foundation, but receive no stipend. I think it much to be desired that they should each have their preaching turn at the Cathedral, and it would be well if they were to receive for each turn some such remuneration as is now given to preachers at the Universities.

It would be better still if, in accordance with the suggestion of the Dean of Chester, in reference to his own Cathedral, they could have the privileges and duties of members of the Chapter, if with the rest of the Chapter they could be constituted into a Council for the Bishop, and if they could receive an income in virtue of their office. He proposes that there should be twelve such stalls, with an income of 50*l.* a year each; and he observes, "this would give to the Bishop a kind of patronage which would be highly valued, the Cathedral would be connected by organic and friendly union with the parishes of the diocese, and a strong nucleus would be gained for a Diocesan Synod, which should contain, along with these Prebendaries, both Clergy and Laity elected by representation." † But desirable as all this is, I confess it far exceeds my most sanguine hopes.

I should be very glad if other clergymen, especially those holding prominent positions in Dioceses, were invited at certain times to preach at the Cathedrals, for I think that everything should be done that can be done to strengthen and cement the

* The population of Cardiff, according to the census of 1841, was 10,077; in 1851 it was 18,351; in 1861 the increase was still more extraordinary, the numbers being 32,431. It is computed that the population of Cardiff, including Roath and Canton, is now at least 50,000.

† Return, &c., June 22, 1871.

union between the Cathedral and the other Churches of the Diocese. There are now three services and three sermons every Sunday, and a service with sermon every Thursday evening, besides the special services during Lent and at other times. The Sunday services are attended by large congregations. As the evening service consists only of a Litany and Hymns, it would be an excellent arrangement to invite special preachers, as is done at Chester, for the evenings throughout the year.

The Choir is at present not so efficient as it ought to be. The funds for maintaining it are not sufficient, and there is no school in Llandaff except the National School for the education of the choristers.

There is one other matter of some importance which I may advert to here. The relation of the Bishop to the Chapter (and the same, I believe, is the case in all the Welsh Cathedrals) is wholly undefined. At St. Asaph he is Visitor, but there are no accounts of any visitation, and no one knows what his powers as Visitor are. As the Bishop has the entire patronage in his hands, and appoints every member of the Chapter, it seems strange that he should not have any recognized jurisdiction in the Cathedral. This is an anomaly which, in my opinion, ought not to be suffered to exist.

III. At ST. ASAPH the conditions are, again, in some essential particulars, different from those at Llandaff. The Cathedral is not the parish church. The population of the parish is chiefly a Welsh-speaking population, and the services at the parish church are entirely in Welsh. There are Vicars-choral, whose duties are ill-defined, but who are supposed to take their turns of duty both in the Cathedral and in the parish church, I cannot do better than quote here the words of Archdeacon Wickham, in his letter addressed to the Dean of St. Asaph on 1st September, 1869, and published in the Return to the House of Commons on Cathedral Establishments, dated 22nd June, 1871. The Archdeacon says:—

"Our original establishment consisted of—

A Dean.

Thirteen Canons or Prebendaries—non-residentiary, *but with preaching turns.*

Four Vicars-choral.

Of these the Deans and Canons formed the Chapter.

"The 'Act for regulating the Cathedral Churches of Wales; (6 & 7 Vict. c. 77) created four Residentiary Canonries—or rather, attached the duty of three months' residence, with an income, to four of the thirteen Canonries which had been deprived of their endowments by the 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113.

"I apprehend that no alteration has been made in the original rights and privileges of the Non-Residentiary Canons—the endowments only being taken away (see sect. xxii.)—and consequently all the thirteen Canons are still included in the Chapter.

"The obvious objections to the present arrangements in our Cathedral are as follows:—

"1. The four Residentiary Canons, having each a parochial cure, are taken away from their parishes every year three months, *in addition to the two months' absence allowed by law.*

"2. The above evil is greater in the case of the two Archdeacons, who are endowed with two of these Canonries. Their official duties not only occupy much of their time at all seasons, but necessarily take them much away from their parishes. And such causes of absence are legal exemptions also.

"3. The three months' residence of the Canons is too short to give them any abiding interest in the Cathedral Town, and therefore gives them little permanent influence there. They are received rather as visitors than as inhabitants of the place.

"4. The Vicars-choral, on whom formerly the whole service of the Cathedral devolved during the greater part of the year, are also jointly Vicars of the Parish of St. Asaph. But a great part of their duties in both respects is entirely taken off them by the appointment of Residentiary Canons, and by the separation of two out of the four divisions of the parish—which have become new parishes separately endowed and served by other clergymen.

"5. The nine Non-Residentiary Canons have no recognized duties *as such*, and therefore no interests identifying them with the Cathedral body and with those objects which Cathedrals were intended to promote. They are no more than 'Honorary Canons.'

"6. It may be worth while to notice an objection to the present state of things, which presents itself to the mind of the public. That in *appearance at least* the Cathedral Staff is far too large for the duties for which it is avowedly responsible.

"I think that all these objections must be met or removed, if our Cathedral Establishment is to commend itself to the thinking part of the world.

"If I might venture to suggest, I should recommend the reduction of the Residentiary Canonries to two—ten, or at least nine months' residence being required from each Canon. This would of course debar them from all parochial cure.

"The two Archdeacons should be separately endowed, and become Non-Residentiary Canons.

"I should abolish the office of Vicar-choral, without substituting Minor Canons, as was contemplated, I believe, a few years back. It should be remembered that the services of the Cathedral are *usually* performed now by no more than three clergymen—viz., the Dean, the Canon in residence, and one Vicar-choral.

"I prefer two Residentiary Canons without a Minor Canon to one Residentiary Canon and one Minor Canon, because I think that the two higher officers are more likely to be serviceable advisers to the Bishop than one would be. They would also be more useful in this respect, from being always resident, than they can be on the present system of change.

"I am strongly of opinion that the Non-Residentiary Canons would be glad to be made more use of in connexion with the Cathedral, as they might be by reviving the old rule of preaching turns. And by being summoned periodically into Chapter with the Bishop they might become means of uniting more closely the Bishop and the Clergy generally, to the great benefit of the Diocese. At the present time most of the Non-Residentiary Canons are Rural Deans, and are brought by that office into occasional communication with the Bishop. I should connect these offices with the Canonries by rule, and choose the Residentiaries from them.

"My new Cathedral Body then would be as follows:—

The Dean.
Two Residentiary Canons.
Two Archdeacons—Non-Residentiary Canons.
Nine Rural Deans Do. Do.

To these last I should attach incomes sufficient to pay the expenses of a most valuable office, which now, to the great disgrace of the Church, is really a burden to those who hold it. Perhaps 50*l.* a year for each would do this.

"I am afraid that those who are calling for Cathedral Reform are anticipating savings of income which cannot be realized if the Cathedral Body is to be made really useful to the Church.

"The present Statutory income of our Cathedral staff is this:—

The Dean	£ 700
Four Residentiary Canons (each 350*l.*)	1400
Four Vicars-choral (say 250*l.* each)	1000
	£3100

"If these last are removed, I presume, the Parish Church must be separately endowed—for which purpose perhaps 600*l.* would be

required. The funds necessary, then, for the arrangement altered as I propose would be:—

Dean	£ 700	
Two Canons Residentiary (say 500*l.*) ..	1000	
Nine Canons Non-Residentiary (say 50*l.*) ..	450	
		£2150
Rector of Parish		600
Saving		350
		£3100

Out of this 'saving' I hope no one would grudge a considerable augmentation of income to the *Dean*.

"I need not in writing to you anticipate the objection which will nevertheless be made in some quarters, that the services of the Cathedral will be too dearly paid for by the endowments of a Dean and two Residentiary Canons. Every one knows that the Dean at the present time is constantly occupied in self-imposed duties which are essential to the religious and social welfare of the town and Diocese. It will be so, I doubt not, with the Canons in permanent residence. And the public will not be slow to acknowledge their usefulness."

Whilst agreeing in the main with these recommendations, there are some points in which I venture to differ from the Archdeacon. I agree with him in thinking that the system of Vicars-choral at present existing should be entirely reformed. I would recommend that there should be one Vicar of the Parish, and that a Canonry should be attached to the incumbency. Taking the present value of the two offices together, he would have an income of about £600 per annum. I would retain two Vicars-choral or Minor Canons, appointed as at present by the Bishop, who should be Curates of the Parish, having each a district under the Vicar, and bound each to take their part in turn in the services of the Cathedral.

It is very desirable that where the population is so thoroughly Welsh, some portion of these services should be in the native language; and the Canon, who as Vicar of the parish must be a Welshman, would have the management of the Welsh services in the Cathedral. Thus he would have his proper duties both in the Cathedral and in the Parish Church. The other resident Canon would, with the Dean, have charge generally of the English congregation, and would conduct

the English services. Either he or the Dean might be the Principal of a Diocesan Theological College, and one or both of them might assist the Bishop in the management of Diocesan Societies, Inspection of Schools, and the like.

IV. The Cathedral of BANGOR is the only one of the Welsh Cathedrals of which I know nothing by personal observation. I therefore gladly avail myself here of the remarks of a well-known clergyman of that diocese—the Rev. P. C. Ellis, Rector of Llanfairfechan—who has kindly answered some questions which I asked him respecting the present condition of the Cathedral, and the reforms which he thought desirable. He says:—

"The nave of the Cathedral at Bangor has been used as the parish church since the latter was destroyed some hundred years ago, I believe. The Cathedral clergy have nothing to do with the services performed there by one of the Vicars. It has been partitioned off from the rest of the Cathedral, and until the restoration of the transepts and choir were in progress, was not used for the Cathedral services. They are now held there because the rest of the building is not available. It is proposed eventually to throw open the whole of the Cathedral, and to remove the congregation assembling in the nave to a new parish church. The Cathedral nave is used as a parish church simply on sufferance, I imagine; though the Vicar, under whose charge it is, questions this.

"Bangor has two Vicars, and the town is divided between them by an arrangement among themselves [as is the case at St. Asaph], each having a church to minister in, besides the nave of the Cathedral.

"The Vicars of Bangor were Vicars-choral with duties in the Cathedral, but there are now two Minor Canons not responsible for any duties other than those connected with the Cathedral, and four Canons Residentiary, each residing three months in rotation; two of them being the Archdeacons of Bangor and Merioneth. My earnest desire is to see the arrangement changed so far as to make the Canons *bonâ fide* residentiary, with sufficient work attached to the office to occupy them without any parochial charge.

"If funds cannot be found to pay four Canons, I would reduce the number to two, each with 700*l.* a year, and raise the two Minor Canons' salary to 300*l.* each. Thus, with the Dean, there would be five men always resident to keep the life of the Church in vigour at its source.

"I would attach to one of the Canonries the office of Principal of a School of Theology for the diocese. Another might manage the machinery connected with Education; and all the work done by deputations representing Home and Foreign Missions might well be apportioned among the Canons.

"I feel satisfied, unless able and earnest men, as preachers and administrators, are soon put into the offices, now too often regarded simply as dignities, and filled by superannuated and *safe* clergymen, the Cathedral system cannot stand. We want scholars too, and we want a flow of fresh life from the Cathedral, which is too often the least inspiring spot in the diocese."

With all that Mr. Ellis says in this letter I heartily and entirely concur. But I would add that I think that the division of the parish between the two Vicars should not be left to arrangement, but should be legally made. Nor is it desirable that the Minor Canons should have no other duties than those which connect them with the Cathedral. I should wish to see them attached as Curates to the two parishes into which Bangor will, I hope, be divided.

As the Cathedral will cease shortly to be used as a parish church, there is no necessity for connecting a Canonry with the incumbency of the parish or parishes; but Mr. Ellis only expresses what is now an almost universal sentiment, when he recommends that two Canons should be permanently resident within the Cathedral precincts. The two Archdeacons here, as elsewhere, should be released from all residence, though still retaining in all other respects their connexion with the Cathedral.

Briefly, then, to sum up. The reforms applicable to all the Welsh Cathedrals are these:—

1. The exemption of the Archdeacons from residence.
2. The residence of the two remaining Canons on their Canonries as on benefices, and the assigning to each of them specific duties.
3. A suitable augmentation of the incomes of the Dean and Canons, and houses provided for each of the resident Canons.
4. A closer connexion of the Non-Residentiary Canons with the Cathedral and with Diocesan organization.
5. A more satisfactory definition of the relation of the Bishop to the Dean and Chapter.

I would further strongly urge that in the two dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff, regard being had to their area, and in the case of the latter to the rapid increase in the population, the Deans should be Suffragan Bishops. We have recently seen the appointments of Suffragans made in two English dioceses with excellent results. But in Wales there might be a special advantage attending such appointments. The two Bishops might be chief pastors respectively of the English and Welsh speaking population of the diocese, and thus the difficulty respecting the appointment of Englishmen to Welsh Sees might be met.

Only a few words remain to be said on the best mode of effecting the alterations necessary in our Cathedral system. That some alterations ought to be made, is, as I have already said, admitted on all hands. The inefficiency of the present system, regarded as an instrument in the organization and work of the Church, cannot be questioned. Moreover, as to the broad outline of the changes desirable, as to the direction which they must take, there is as much unanimity as can be hoped for in the attempt to modify any system, or to reform the abuses inherent in it. Any one who will take the trouble to read the letters from the Deans and Chapters, sent in reply to the Circular addressed to them by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and published in a Return to an Address of the House of Commons, &c., dated 22nd June, 1871, may satisfy himself on this head.

But the question is, *How* shall these reforms be initiated? Considering the many differences in the position and requirements of the Cathedrals, and the possibility that these may vary from time to time, it scarcely seems wise to lay down any hard and rigid rules, which may in a few years again demand modification. There ought to be elasticity in the system. I think, therefore, it would be better, instead of propounding at once a uniform scheme to take effect in all Cathedrals, to give to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or, better still, to a body of Cathedral Commissioners, consisting of Bishops, members of Chapters, and Laymen, powers sufficiently large to enable them to deal with the several Cathedrals according to their several requirements.

The recommendations of this Commission should be binding.

The question of funds ought not to be a difficulty. When the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have made large grants to the mere restoration of the fabrics, and that even in the case of so remote a Cathedral as St. David's, it would be to carry parsimony to the height of folly, if money were refused for objects far more important than the preservation of any material structure however valuable, and without which the material structure would be useless. And let it not be said that the improvement of small livings, the endowment of churches, and the like, are matters of such pressing and paramount importance that the funds at the disposal of the Commissioners should be devoted to those ends to the exclusion of all others. Those funds, be it remembered, were diverted originally from the Cathedrals, and wherever it is found that weakness is the result, they ought to be restored so far as it may be necessary to maintain the Cathedrals in a state of efficiency. Certainly it cannot be said that the Cathedrals in Wales are suffering from plethora; they might more truly be said to be dying of inanition. And the endeavour of the Church ought surely to be to strengthen every part of her machinery, not to suffer any part to be thrown out of gear, not to polish a wheel here, and to leave another to get rusty there. I do not advocate the retention of the Cathedral establishment, much less a lavish expenditure upon it, if it can be shown to be useless. But I do say, If you retain it, give it a chance of working well. And I believe that all the evidence collected goes to show that, with sufficient means and proper regulations, this may be done. And earnestly do I cherish the hope that, under new auspices, and with new regulations, thoughtfully devised and wisely carried out, not only may our Cathedrals be visible centres of spiritual life, houses of perpetual prayer and praise, patterns of all other churches,—but that the Cathedral establishment may become, in each Diocese, the beating heart, from which and to which flow all the streams of its varied, throbbing life.

J. J. Stewart Perowne.

ESSAY IX.

THE EDUCATION OF CHORISTERS IN CATHEDRALS.

BY SIR FREDERICK A. GORE OUSELEY, BART.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Definition of terms; Chorister; Education.

Importance of the subject generally, and especially in Cathedrals.

Historical notices of the office and treatment of Choristers, in Africa; in Rome; at Peterborough; in post-Reformation days.

Later abuses.

Recent improvements.

The training of Choristers—

(1) Musical.
(2) Physical.
(3) Intellectual.
(4) Moral.
(5) Religious.

Dangers arising from the evil example of Lay-Clerks; irreverence produced by practising in church; other moral dangers of Choristers; evil of the multiplicity of masters.

Suggestions: form for the admission of Choristers; prayer before service; causes of distraction to be avoided; leave of absence not to be lightly granted.

Education of Choristers in the Grammar School; difficulties; remedies.

Ideal sketch of a Chorister's career.

Objections met.

Conclusion.

ON THE

EDUCATION OF CHORISTERS IN CATHEDRALS.

"Maxima debetur puero reverentia."

It is always well, before treating of any subject, to define the principal terms to be employed. There are two, at least, which need such definition ere we proceed to the discussion of our subject: they are the two words *Chorister* and *Education*. Both these words are used by some persons in a very different sense to that which they are intended to bear in this essay.

Many in this country use the word Chorister in its larger sense, as including all members of a choir, as well adult as children. In France, again, the word "choriste" signifies a chorus-singer of either sex, at the theatre, or in the concert room. Anciently, again, it was often taken to mean a dancer, as well as a singer. In the following pages it will be applied exclusively to designate the boys who are appointed to sing the upper parts of the music in our Cathedral Choirs. As to the word Education, it is perhaps one of the most abused words in our language. Many people look upon mere technical instruction as including all that need be understood by the term education. But surely this is a very false, and indeed a very dangerous view: for the word in reality implies more, far more, than such partial training. It means all that, and a great deal else besides. It means not only special but general training, intellectual training, moral training, and (what is far more important than either) religious training. It is, in fact, such a system of treatment as shall develop all the resources of the body, the mind, and the soul, to the best possible advantage, so as to fit the subject of it, at length, both for his life here below, and for the life that is to come after this

one. No course of instruction which aims at anything short of all this deserves the name of education. In this sense, then, will the word be employed in this Essay. Having premised thus much, it will be easily seen what is implied by the words, "Education of the Choristers of our Cathedrals." It is a far more important subject than it might appear to be to one who may have only glanced at it superficially. It involves most serious issues—serious, whether we regard the future of our Cathedral establishments, or whether we look to the interests, in this world and the next, of those young ministers of the sanctuary, whose early years are devoted especially to the service of God, and the edification of the members of His Church. In these days—in which, everywhere, efforts are being made to improve the secular instruction of various classes of society; and in which education has been made a kind of party watchword by many who only regard it from a more or less limited point of view, and do not, it is to be feared, discern the vast importance of the religious element as an essential ingredient in all general teaching of our rising generation; in these days it is necessary, to a degree in which it has never been so before, for the Church to come forward and take her part boldly and effectively in this great work, lest secularism should dominate over the faith of Christ, and irreligion should eventually reign triumphant in our now Christian land. But if this be so with the Church of England generally, how particularly is it so with its richly endowed Cathedrals, where the means of supplying the crying want of sound Christian education are ready to hand, and where, in many cases, all the machinery is in readiness also! And, moreover, if any of the youth surrounding or connected with our great Diocesan centres have this great claim on our Capitular bodies, none can have it so strongly as those who minister musically in their choirs, and who are subject to temptations and trials of a peculiar and hazardous kind, from which other boys are comparatively free. And, of late years especially, this claim has been recognized by many of our cathedrals, and measures have been taken with a view of improving the status and the condition, both moral and intellectual, of their Choristers,—in some cases with considerable success, though by no means so in all. It will not be amiss, therefore, to compare together some of the principal systems

which have been proposed or adopted for this good object, and perhaps to make a few suggestions which may lead to still further improvements.

But, before going into the practical part of our subject as here proposed, it may be as well to enquire what is recorded of the office and treatment of Choristers in early history. The notices are very scant, but such as they are they have a significance. It is probable that in very early times those who were intended for Holy Orders were often trained from their childhood with a special view to their future calling. Cardinal Bona* tells us that "the Roman pontiffs and other ecclesiastical rulers took care that the clergy should be taught the rules of singing from their earliest years, and should have a master to teach them letters, and to develop their voice." We read of a school of singers in Africa, in the fifth century, where children were taught not only to sing, but to behave; and Bona tells us the following anecdote of some of these children (which I quote from Dr. Millard's admirable little book, the 'Historical Notices of Choristers,' † p. 32):— "Among the faithful who were banished from Carthage in the cruel persecution under Hunneric, king of the Vandals, were twelve youthful choristers. These were separated from the rest, at the instigation of one Tercharius, who had been a catholic lector, and had had the charge of these very choristers, 'Infantulos strenuos, et aptos modulis Cantilenæ,' but had seceded to the Arian heresy. They were recalled to Carthage, and assailed with various kinds of torture, to induce them to abandon the orthodox faith, but in vain. They remained constant through all trials, 'and now,' says Victor, 'Carthage holds them in extraordinary reverence, and regards them as a company of twelve youthful apostles. They live all together, have their meals together, sing psalms together, and together make their boast in the Lord.'" The next great choristers' school which comes before us is the celebrated one founded by St. Gregory the Great. This is so well known, and made so familiar to most of us by various paintings by great masters, that I need not describe it. At least *five* popes were educated in this very school.‡ That Augustine the Monk established

* Op. xx. p. 487. † London: Masters, 1848. ‡ Millard, p. 36.

similar schools in England is certain. Charlemagne, also, in one of his edicts, ordered the establishment of reading boys (puerorum legentium), who were to learn the psalms, the notes of music, arithmetic, and grammar. Millard* gives some amusing and interesting details of the education of a nobleman's son as a chorister in a religious house at Peterborough. This boy afterwards was ordained, and became bishop of Worcester; and, as our author tells us, "became so renowned for his simplicity, patience, charity, and devotion, that Wulstan, the once humble singing-boy of Peterborough, is to this hour numbered among the chief of the English saints." But without quoting more examples, let it suffice to refer the reader to Dr. Millard's work, which is so well written, and contains so much useful and interesting matter, that it ought to form part of every library. The number he gives of men of eminence who were brought up as choir-boys is very considerable, and doubtless it might be largely increased; and the conclusion to which this seems to lead us is that in olden time the Office of a Chorister was held in great estimation, and the education which choir-boys received was of a high order. They were not selected from "the lowest of the people," like Jeroboam's priests, nor was a very second-rate commercial education thought sufficient for them, nor were they turned adrift on leaving the choir without the means or the requisite acquirements to gain their livelihood;—on the contrary, they were prepared for Holy Orders, or for other liberal professions, and their musical training doubtless bore its part in furthering this good end; nor can it be denied that we have Scriptural authority for such places of choral discipline,—witness the celebrated Schools of the Prophets—witness the Companies of Singers in the Temple Service. Surely these Scriptural indications are a sufficient argument against those who might be disposed to object to such instances as have been adduced from the unreformed Church. But it is easy to find many similar indications of the care of the Church for her "ministering children" in post-reformation days: for instance we find in Archbishop Grindall's Visitation of York, in 1570, that he orders the precentor, or his succentor, to see that the choristers should be virtuously brought up in the principles

* P. 38.

of religion, and be examined three times every quarter in the English Catechism. Dean Aldrich, too, who died in 1710, and was equally famous as a divine, a musician, a logician, a scholar, and an architect, had so great a reverence for the office of a Chorister, that he is said to have allowed the senior choir-boys of Christ Church to remain during the hall dinner *with their caps on.* He also restored the custom of letting the choristers wear academical gowns when not engaged in divine service.

Since those days the position of a cathedral-boy has been very much degraded, and in many of our cathedrals the Choristers have been chosen from the very lowest rank of society, badly schooled, badly cared for in morals and in religion, snubbed, despised, slighted, and eventually sent forth into the world with no adequate provision for their maintenance, and no such acquirements as might enable them to rise in life by their own efforts. It is true, indeed, that of late years these sad cases have become rare; but fifty years ago such proceedings were the rule, not, as now, the exception; and they are mentioned now not merely in order to record a strong and indignant protest against such unpardonable neglect, but also in order to introduce some of the principal schemes which different capitular bodies have adopted with a view of remedying this crying evil. Some cathedrals have adopted the plan of appointing a special master to give the boys an ordinary English commercial education, in addition of course to the musical instruction which they receive from the Organist, or other Choir-Master; and when they leave the choir, they are either apprenticed to some trade, or to the organist, as regular articled pupils, or else a sum of money, seldom exceeding 20*l.*, is given to start them in life. In most cases where this plan has been adopted, the boys are not boarded and lodged, but live at home in the town with their friends, or in lodgings, merely attending the school as day boys. In a few cases, however, the better plan has been chosen of letting the boys live together in the house of some responsible person—either the schoolmaster, or the organist, or one of the minor canons. In other cathedrals, again, recourse has been had to the older and far preferable system of giving the choir-boys a higher kind of education, such as shall qualify them to take Holy Orders hereafter, or at any rate to enter some profession fit for gentlemen's sons. For this purpose they attend the cathedral grammar

school, and are boarded and lodged either with one of the masters, or with one of the clergy connected with the cathedral. At such a school they can be prepared for the Universities, and may, if they chance to be clever and industrious, succeed in carrying off some of the exhibitions or prizes which most of our grammar schools have in their gift. In some cathedrals, where such a system formerly existed, and where it had been subsequently disused, it has been restored of late years, with good results. Of course the extent to which this more expensive plan can be carried out in various cathedrals must be regulated to a great extent by pecuniary considerations. Often it will be found impossible to adopt the whole of such a scheme in its integrity, while still it may be so partially,—or with reference only to a certain proportion of the boys,—or it may have to be introduced by degrees, as circumstances may admit; this will naturally cause many variations in detail. But there are few cathedrals where the main features of such a system may not be adopted; and it appears certainly, on the whole, to be by far the best model to follow. It is true, indeed, that objections may be urged, both on the part of the masters of the grammar schools and by the organists and choir-masters; but these objections do not appear by any means insurmountable, as will be set forth hereafter.* It may be shown from the original charters and

* The statutes of Durham contain a good example of the kind of provision for the education of the choristers, which was ordered in Cathedrals of the New Foundation.

"We decree and ordain that in the said church there be ten choristers, boys of tender age, with good voices and musical capacity, who shall serve, minister, and sing in the choir. For the instruction of these boys, and to guide them in their moral conduct, no less than to teach them the art of singing," . . . . . "one shall be chosen of good life and fame, skilled in singing and organ playing, who shall carefully occupy himself in teaching the boys, chanting the service, and playing the organ."

Nor was this all, for in chapter xxviii. we find the following enactment:—

"We require that the boys of this our school [*i.e.* the Cathedral Grammar School] be maintained at the expense of the Church till they shall have obtained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue; for which purpose four years shall be allowed, or, by permission of the Dean, five years. We also decree that no one be admitted to a poor scholarship of this church who shall be more than fifteen years of age. The Choristers, nevertheless, of the said church, though exceeding fifteen years of age, we allow to be admitted as scholars. And if they are duly qualified, and have made good proficiency in music, and have faithfully served in the choir, we ordain that they shall be chosen *in preference to others*."

These regulations, drawn up in Henry VIII.'s time, exactly embody the very plan which is recommended in this Essay. How far they have hitherto been carried out at Durham, or elsewhere, is quite another matter.

statutes of many of our cathedral and collegiate churches (*e. g.*, at Westminster), that it was always contemplated to give the Choristers a free and liberal education of the best kind in the Grammar School attached to the church. It is a sad fact that in more than one case this provision has been broken through within the last thirty years, and a very inferior choristers' school substituted. This is a retrograde step, and by no means to be excused on the alleged plea of advantages gained by the grammar school through the absence of the choir-boys. It is an exactly opposite course which it is the object of this Essay to recommend. The choristers' school should rather be made the *nucleus* of a general school, as it is at Magdalen College, Oxford; and every endeavour should be made so to treat the boys who are *ministri ecclesiæ*, that they should be looked up to with respect and regard for their office sake, and not despised and contemned as of a lower and menial grade, as is now too often the case.

The Education of Choristers may be regarded from various points of view.

I. Their musical training. II. Their physical training. III. Their intellectual training. IV. Their moral training. V. Their religious training.

I. Their musical instruction should obviously be of the very best kind. It is not enough that they be taught to sing, and to read music easily at first sight;—over and above this, they should be made really good musicians;—and with a view of improving their general musical knowledge and their sight-reading powers, it is highly desirable that they should all learn some musical instrument. In the old Hereford Cathedral statutes this point is especially insisted on, and it is believed that such is the case in the statutes of other cathedrals. It is not invariably the case that the Organist shall be also Choir-master. At St. Paul's Cathedral, for instance, the Choir-master, who is responsible for the vocal efficiency of the boys, is one of the Lay Vicars. At the Chapel Royal, St. James', the same office is held by the Rev. Thomas Helmore, Priest in ordinary to Her Majesty. And there are many arguments in favour of such a separation of the two functions. In the first place, it does not follow that because a man is a good organist he must therefore necessarily be a good teacher of singing; and *vice*

versâ. In the next place it is conceivable that in some cases the two functionaries may exercise a wholesome influence and restraint upon one another, especially if they are both duly subordinate to the Precentor, or Succentor, whose duty it is to supervise and regulate the whole musical scheme of the choir. In many cathedrals, too, there is an endowment for a Master of the choir, but none for an Organist, while in others the contrary is the case. It may be said on the other side, that by combining the two duties greater unity of purpose may be secured, and many possible quarrels and disagreements obviated; and doubtless this argument has considerable weight. But whenever such a combination of duties exists, the organist's salary should be very much higher, inasmuch as he cannot in such a case spare so much time as he otherwise could for private teaching, and other ways of gaining a livelihood. It would be impossible to lay down any general rule on this subject, as various cathedrals differ very largely in their circumstances and constitution. But in all cases one result should be aimed at, and that is to make the musical school of the Cathedral at once a model and a rallying point for the whole Diocese. In the matter of music, as in many other things, the Cathedral should set an example to the Parish Churches, and it would not be amiss if prizes and exhibitions could be founded in connexion with every choristers' school, for musical proficiency and vocal talent, which all musical boys in the various middle or grammar schools in the diocese should be invited to come and compete for. In the event of their success, they would have the option of joining the Cathedral Choir, and obtaining the concurrent advantage of free admission to the Grammar School attached thereto. By some such machinery the knowledge and practice of music, and especially of church music, might be widely spread, and a very extensive range of educational benefits conferred. And, reciprocally, the various middle schools and grammar schools of the diocese might co-operate advantageously with the cathedral choir, if they were furnished with endowments of prizes and exhibitions for which former cathedral choristers might be admitted to compete, when the breaking of their voices necessitated their departure from the choir. By some such co-operative system of musical and educational intercourse between the cathedral and the various schools in the neighbourhood, the choral establish-

ments of each Diocese might acquire a wide-spread influence of a most beneficial kind, and a great impetus would be given to the cultivation of musical ability in the rising generation. As to the best system of choral training, it may not be out of place to observe that it should be of a somewhat varied and extensive kind. It ought to comprise, 1st, the development of the voice, to the proper use of it; 2ndly, the habit of accurate performance at first sight; 3rdly, a knowledge of the rudiments of music, sufficient to qualify every chorister to pass creditably such an examination in that subject as is given in the "Local" or "non-gremial" examinations at Oxford and Cambridge; 4thly, the acquirement of a moderate proficiency on some musical instrument, preferably the pianoforte, the organ, or the violin. An hour (or at the most an hour and a half) every day ought to suffice for the above purposes,—*if the most is made of the time.* If, however, a boy intends to follow music as his profession in after life, of course much more time should be allotted to musical studies than in another case.

II. Great care should be taken of the health of Chorister Boys. Regular exercise and boyish games should be encouraged, as far as other objects will admit; their diet, and general habits of cleanliness, should be carefully looked after, and special pains should be taken that they may not damage their vocal organs by catching colds, coughs, or other ailments. All this can be easily seen to, if they are boarded and lodged where they can be under the eye of an experienced matron, and where they need not have any distance to come in bad weather in order to attend the daily service of the church, or the school to which they are attached.

III. As to the intellectual training of choristers, enough has been already said. Suffice it then to repeat that it should be what is usually understood by a good classical, mathematical, and liberal education; such in short, as every good grammar school is supposed to afford. It is unnecessary to enter into details.

IV. It is time now to speak of the moral training of our Cathedral Boys. And this must be of two kinds, 1. By precept; 2. By example. The former kind may, we hope, be taken as a matter of course. It is inconceivable that any schoolmaster would omit to instil precepts of morality into his pupils, still more inconceivable that he should wittingly allow any immoral

suggestions to reach their ears. But when we come to moral training *by example*, it is to be feared that a great deal more care is necessary than is usually taken. The proverbial carelessness of young Lay Clerks, and other professional officials, as to their conversation in the presence of mere lads, is unfortunately a grave source of evil and cannot be too strongly denounced. Of late years, however, there has been a decided improvement in this particular; still, too much care cannot be taken. One way in which choristers often learn much moral evil is by their attendance at concerts, or to sing at public dinners,—occasions on which their voices alone are thought of, and no one appears to care about the well-being of those whom they employ to delight their ears; and when the music they have to sing is too frequently wedded to words of a most objectionable nature. It is only needful to mention this great abuse, one would hope, in order to show the enormity of such a proceeding.

V. But the most important part of a Chorister's training is that which relates to his Religion, and this divides itself into two heads: first, religious knowledge; secondly, religious practice.

As to the former, it is clearly a matter for which the capitular body is directly responsible,—and it is a responsibility which cannot be postponed or ignored; for it is not to man, but to God that they are answerable for the souls of these young Christians of whom they have assumed the charge, and whose services they find so necessary and so valuable; and there is every reason to hope and believe that, in most cathedrals, this duty is acknowledged, and performed, more or less perfectly. Still there are many ways of inculcating the fundamental truths of our holy faith, which one never finds adopted in cathedrals. Is there any cathedral, for instance, wherein the choir-boys are catechized after the second lesson at evening? Is there any cathedral wherein the next best plan is adopted, of catechizing them before or after service? Usually, the actual teaching of Christianity is left to the schoolmaster, who may neglect it or not, without much fear of capitular scrutiny or interference. Much might be said to prove the gigantic evils arising from the neglect of so plain a duty; but it is believed that such proof is becoming needless, as there is an evident improvement,—not rapid, indeed, but still an improvement,—in this matter in the majority of our cathedrals.

But it is surely evident that bare instruction in religious knowledge is by no means all that is required. There is required, secondly, the habitual practice to which such knowledge should lead;—in other words, the boys should be taught to lead religious lives. This is a very important, and often a very difficult lesson to teach, for there are peculiar temptations to which choir-boys are liable, which offer no small opposition to good Christian influences. In the first place, there is the danger of irreverent behaviour during divine service, necessarily springing from unusual and constant familiarity with sacred words, places, and things. There are some persons who are so keenly alive to this danger, that they are induced to disapprove of daily services altogether for young people; but there is, in reality, no need for such violent measures as the discontinuance of daily choral service. If boys are thoroughly well looked after, and taught to value the services of the Church, and to consider it a high privilege to be allowed to take an active part in them, there is then every hope that their attendance will breed no irreverence. But in order to secure them from the danger of "lightly regarding" sacred things, it is essential to cultivate a high moral and religious tone among the choristers, and to visit with condign punishment every irreverent action of which they may be guilty. Strict discipline, with a view to this most important object, is absolutely necessary, both in and out of church. And even more necessary still it is that a good model of reverential behaviour should be set before them by their seniors. And here it is that it becomes necessary to animadvert upon some very sad departures from what is right, which are of too frequent occurrence in many cathedral choirs. Latrobe, in his admirable work on 'The Music of the Church'* has some very forcible remarks on this subject. He observes that "when only a few youths are admitted into the choir," as in our cathedrals, "the evil example set by superiors is especially pernicious. In proportion as the danger of open disturbance is less imminent, the young chorister is treated with familiarity, and his presence considered no check upon idle violations of decorum. Whoever has remarked the greediness with which the young imitate and quote the follies of a more mature age,

* 8vo., London, 1831, p. 110.

may well tremble for those who thus boldly scatter the seeds of sin. To this cause may possibly be ascribed the indecorous behaviour of the 'singing-boys' of Cathedrals, whose light-minded folly is frequently unchecked by the presence of their superiors, many of whom are clergymen. Why conduct so flagrant as to excite the notice of individuals standing without the gates should thus pass, unrebuked, by those whose very profession should make them quick-sighted and jealous for the honour of their Master, can only be accounted for by the force of self-accusation, a too general feeling of carelessness, or that morbid dread of interfering in others' labours, which causes the death of many a patient, amid the very multitude of his physicians." It is notorious that Lay Clerks often show, only too plainly, by their behaviour in church how little they regard their work as an offering to God: they are apt to look on it simply from a mercantile point of view, as so much singing to be done in consideration of so much pay. As a necessary consequence of such a mode of viewing their duties, it follows that the sanctity of God's house is lost sight of;—if they kneel down at all, it is not to pray; if they utter with their lips anything beyond what they have to sing, it is too often some common every-day conversation addressed *sotto voce* to their neighbour, or some jokes, at the expense, perhaps, of the officiating clergyman, or some criticism of the music, or of the performance of it. When the most solemn service of all begins, they all troop out, and leave the Holy Communion bare of all musical adornment. They never remember, in such cases, how important it is that those who minister in holy things as they do, should partake of God's greatest gifts, and thus receive spiritual strength to enable them to withstand the peculiar temptations incidental to their calling. They reck not how many tender consciences may be scandalized by their neglect of the holiest ordinances. They seem to forget what a hateful sin it is to mock God with false praise,—to sell themselves to counterfeit real devotion,—to turn their backs on the highest act of worship. All this they appear to ignore; and even when a choral celebration of the Holy Eucharist renders their vocal assistance necessary, they then for the most part do not communicate, or if they do, it is in a perfunctory and indevout manner, which is worse than if they had stayed away altogether. Now, when it is borne in mind that all these sayings and doings

of our Cathedral Lay Clerks are especially visible and audible to the boys, who always sit in their immediate vicinity, and are joined with them in the same musical work; and when it is remembered, too, how prone young lads are to copy the actions and conversation of those with whom they are habitually associated, especially, alas! if the example should be a bad one; and when to all this the fact is added that very often the lay clerks address the boys directly, and thus tempt them to irreverence and misbehaviour, not only by example, but by direct suggestion—when all this is duly considered, it is evident that these poor lads are placed at a very considerable disadvantage, and exposed to many great temptations of a peculiar and exceptional kind. The writer of this Essay speaks here from his own personal observation and experience; nor has one fact been stated which has not come within his direct cognizance: there has therefore been no overstatement, no exaggeration. Still it is only fair to remark, that in several cathedrals great improvements have taken place in all the above particulars; and on the whole, it may be asserted that the evils complained of are decidedly on the decline. Many of our cathedral authorities have set themselves to reform all such abuses, and there is reason to hope that the time is not far distant when this grave reproach may be entirely wiped off. Still, *at present*, there is much to be done, and the influences to which our choristers are exposed are most antagonistic to the development of those religious feelings which should actuate all whose duty it is to take an active part in the service of the sanctuary, be that part what it may.

There is one custom in several of our cathedrals which is obviously detrimental to that devout and reverential feeling with which sacred words should ever be sung. I allude to the plan adopted by many organists, choir-masters, and precentors, of practising the music which has to be performed in service, not in a room appropriated to the purpose, but in the choir of the cathedral itself. This practice cannot be too strongly deprecated. It is a very fruitful source of irreverence, and engenders a cold and perfunctory habit of performance most injurious to all who are brought within its scope. It is, of course, inevitable that the music should be practised somewhere; but any place is better than the church, which ought to be associated solely and

exclusively with actual worship. It may be said, indeed, on the other hand, that the reverence due to the place may act as a healthful check on the irreverence likely to arise from the frequent repetition of sacred words and names incidental to choral practice. But experience would rather lead one to fear that the irreverence would prove the stronger inducement of the two, and that thus the holy place would be desecrated by worldly and indevout utterances, while no good would accrue to balance so great an evil. It is, on the whole, probable that the cases where a rehearsal of service-music must of necessity be held within the sacred walls are very few indeed, and that a little trouble and ingenuity might, in almost every case, provide some other less objectionable plan. Certainly the choral service is sung as efficiently in places where such a mode of rehearsing is not adopted as in others where it is; it cannot therefore be necessary. Even in cases where the practising takes place out of the sacred walls, there is generally a sad want of care displayed in securing due reverence to the *subject* which the music is meant to illustrate. The holiest words and names are too often treated exactly as though they were no more than mere *do re mi fa sol*, and great harm must obviously ensue to the habitual reverence which should ever be maintained in the behaviour of every one who is engaged in the service of the sanctuary. We say nothing of angry words, recriminations, and quarrels, such as are unfortunately not unknown during the practising hours in certain choirs,—no one would defend such abuses; only, why do not our cathedral authorities step in and correct them?

But there are other temptations and inducements to irreverence which too frequently beset the cathedral boy. For instance, in cases where he is a boy of a lower grade in society, the son of poor parents, living with them in the town, only a day scholar in the cathedral school, he is naturally apt to look to his *earnings* as the main consideration; his duty to his parents alone would tend to this result. He sings, then, for pay, rather than for God: he looks on himself (unconsciously perhaps) as a mere mercenary; he loses self-respect in consequence; he only joins outwardly, and in mere semblance, in the music of the Church—he may sing his best, but it is only for fear of blame and punishment, or for display, or for the sake of the salary or

other advantage attached to his so doing. And is not this a wretched religious training for a young and susceptible lad? Again, he has to go through the streets and lanes of the city to and from home. There he sees and hears vicious and immoral sights and sounds most defiling to a boy's mind. Surely such a daily practical commentary on the good precepts he hears in church and school cannot but exercise a most deleterious influence on his whole religious and moral character. And even in his own home he may chance to witness scenes of drunkenness and other sinful practice, enough to neutralize any good impressions he might have retained from his cathedral experiences of the day. No school teaching, no church teaching, no clerical or other personal supervision can be of avail against such fearful counter-influences. And so the poor lad grows up to be a careless, hardened, godless man, despite all his frequent association with things that are holy, and pure, and refined. What stronger argument could be adduced to enforce the advantage of choosing our Choristers from a somewhat higher rank, and making them all board and lodge with some good and responsible Master?

There is yet another evil to which choir-boys are subjected in one or two cathedrals which ought not to be passed over in this place, and that is, the multiplicity of masters (possibly rival masters) to whom they owe obedience. There is, first, the Dean or Canon in residence, who rightly claims general supervising powers over all matters connected with the service, and amongst them, over the boys;—then there is the Precentor or Subchanter, who exacts their obedience, of course, as being the head of the musical department;—next there is the Master of the grammar school, by whom they are officered;—then, again, there is the Choir-master, or Organist, who expects them to show implicit obedience in their mode of performing the service;—then, too, there is, unfortunately, one of the Lay Clerks who is supposed to "keep them in order" while singing. It surely can need no elaborate argument to demonstrate the radical viciousness of such a system, and its entire antagonism to the moral and religious training which choristers particularly require. If "no man can serve two masters," how can these poor lads serve five or six? Is it not certain that the attempt to accomplish this impossibility can only generate disobedience well veiled by

boyish hypocrisy, and disgust and dislike to the service and all connected with it? It is a good fact, however, that such an absurd and unreasonable system is the exception, and not the rule, and that it is fast disappearing in those few places where it still lingers. May it soon cease, and be forgotten!

In the preface to Dr. Millard's book, he has some very good remarks upon some of the points which have been already touched upon; and it may not be amiss to make the following extract. Speaking of the training of choristers, he says:* —"It must be acknowledged that their daily involuntary attendance on services of considerable length, and their familiarity with sacred words and places, are often successful inducements to irreverence, or at least involve the guilt of slighted opportunities. Above all, therefore, their instructors are bound to instil a feeling of veneration for sacred things, and a sense of responsibility for means of grace. They should be made acquainted with the meaning and intention of every part of the service, and taught to feel that it is their privilege really to take part in it for their own benefit and the glory of God, rather than to perform it merely for the sake of others. The unfailing efficiency of earnest prayer, in procuring all they need, should be held up to them as a motive to real worship, and a protection against weariness. The history of the Psalms, with which they have so much to do, illustrations of their application to our own circumstances, and instruction in the harder passages, should mingle in their daily lessons." It is impossible to improve on the above admirable way of stating the case: but a few suggestions may be added which may be useful in aiding to carry out the great object in view. In the first place, whenever a new chorister, or probationer, is admitted to the choir, some sort of special form is desirable. It need not be an elaborate ceremony, nor need it be performed in the presence of a large congregation; but it should be of a nature to produce a deep religious impression, not only on the mind of the new boy, but also on the rest of the choir. Just as the introduction of the service of holy baptism into our regular evensong has frequently had a most beneficial effect on grown-up Christians by "reminding them of their profession," of their privileges, of their

* P. 14 et seq.

responsibilities, and of their duties; so the prayers and other religious exercises at the admission of a new chorister might have a most beneficial effect on all the members of the choir (in whose presence it should always take place), by putting them in mind of the sacred character of their office, of the responsibility which attaches to it in the sight of God, of the dangers which attend it, of the blessedness of resisting those dangers, of the privileges involved, of the honour conferred in being set aside, like Samuel of old, for the especial service of the Lord's house. At Norwich Cathedral the writer once accidentally witnessed the admission of a chorister. The form consisted of a few simple and touching prayers, a short lesson read by the senior chorister, an admirable address by the Dean, from his stall, and the solemn investiture of the new boy in his surplice. Nothing could be more impressive, more calculated to produce a marked result on the character and conduct of all members of the choir. Why should not a similar plan be adopted at other cathedrals? What could be devised more likely to divest choral work of its too mercenary character, and substitute higher and nobler motives? The exact form might vary in different choirs, but the same spirit should animate all alike. It is for the Capitular bodies,—for the Deans in particular,—to carry out this suggestion, according to their judgments and the peculiar requirements of their several Cathedrals; nor is it easy to imagine any objection to the adoption of such a course.

In the next place, it is much to be wished that a short and solemn prayer be said before and after each service, in the vestry;—it might either be offered by one of the clergy, or by the senior boy. This plan is adopted in Hereford Cathedral, and may be so elsewhere (although the writer has not met with it himself), and is certainly very beneficial in its results.* Stringent rules should be adopted to prevent any talking, or other distraction, after the prayer has been said at the beginning of service: a silent and devout behaviour should be enforced, and that not only on the boys, but on all who are about to join in

* Since writing the above, the author has learnt with no small satisfaction that the plan here recommended has been in use in Chester Cathedral for the last three years. He ventures to hope that the same may be the case elsewhere, though he has not heard of it. [It is now adopted at Lincoln.—Ed.]

the service. The clergy, especially, should be careful to set a good example in such a matter, otherwise the whole scheme were worse than useless. This is too obvious to need further enforcement; it will be well, therefore, to go on to another matter, wherein a little care may obviate a great evil. It will be of little use to guard the beginning and end of the service from temptations to irreverence, if these are allowed to prevail during the course of it; and yet how very little precaution is generally taken in this respect. The chorister boy is liable to have his attention distracted, and his devotions interrupted, in a variety of ways, the bare statement of which ought to suffice to ensure their removal. In the first place, as we have already remarked, the Lay Clerks,—aye, and sometimes the Clergy also,—indulge in conversation alien to the sanctity of the time and place, so that the boys cannot fail to hear what they say. Then again, to make the matter worse, some of these irreverent observations are occasionally addressed to the lads themselves. But even if such gross conduct as this be avoided, still the boys are continually subjected to what may be termed "official interpellations." Perhaps the anthem, service, or chant is changed after the prayers have begun, and the necessary information is sent from the Precentor to the Organist by the chief choir-boy, who is called up from his knees for the purpose; or perhaps, through some negligence or mismanagement, no copy of the music to be performed is to be found, and the unfortunate chorister is sent in quest of the required document;—or perchance the organist has mislaid his copy, and he telegraphs from the organ-loft to the choir on the subject, and then a course of embassage ensues, messages are passed to and fro, whispered consultations take place (the boys being always the medium of communication), and after much fuss and disturbance the matter is settled. Meanwhile, where are the devotions of the Choir-boy? where is his reverence? where is the reality of his worship? How many an earnest confession of sins to God, how many a struggle against sinful thoughts, how many a fervent prayer for divine aid, has been choked and neutralized, and the contest between good and evil decided in favour of the latter, by some such careless and ill-timed interference as we have alluded to! Such occurrences take place far too frequently in many Cathedral choirs. And thus young souls

may be murdered, and God's service may be made a high road to evil, and all for lack of a little charitable care and Christian consideration. It is probable, indeed, that in the majority of cases the Deans and Canons are entirely ignorant of such sad proceedings as those just alluded to;—most likely, if the matter were duly brought under their notice, they would be shocked, and would take vigorous steps to abate so crying an abuse. But such ignorance can only avail *once* as an excuse—as soon as the abuse has been pointed out, future ignorance must be stigmatized as wilful. It would be, then, a matter of sincere rejoicing if the above observations were to lead to greater care, and an improved choral discipline, in our cathedral establishments. It would be well if it were made the business of some one qualified person to see that the requisite music should be in readiness, with the place duly found, before every service, both in the choir and in the organ-loft. Theoretically, this is the case in most choirs, but it is not often carried out, practically, with that stringency which is required. Then, again, no alteration in the music to be sung should ever be made after the commencement of the service; and this rule should be enforced with the utmost rigour, and without exceptions of any kind, except such as arise from sudden illness, or other similar absolute necessity. It is only by a severe enforcement of these rules of choir discipline that the young singers can be protected from the gross and prevailing evils to which reference has been made.

There is sometimes another bad custom in certain cathedrals which ought not to be passed over. It is the injudicious way in which leave of absence from service is sometimes granted to the boys by the deans or canons, on frivolous and insufficient grounds and without requisite previous enquiry. Of course this is simply an error of good nature and misdirected kindness, still it is of evil tendency, inasmuch as it leads the boy to think the service of God a task to be shirked as often as possible, rather than a privilege to be enjoyed on every available occasion.

We have, perhaps, digressed somewhat from the main subject of this Essay,—but not very far either, for, after all, the religious care of a boy during divine service is an important element in the formation of his character; it is a branch of his education, then, in the highest sense of the word. All other teaching,

without it, would be comparatively worthless; no apology, therefore, is needed for the introduction of these remarks.

It was observed above,* that objections are liable to be raised against the education of choristers in grammar schools, either by the schoolmasters or by the organists. Such is doubtless the case; and it must frankly be admitted that there do exist certain practical difficulties in the matter which justify more or less the objections which are made. But these difficulties, though confessedly troublesome to adjust, are yet by no means insurmountable: it only requires a little good-humoured arrangement and mutual concession to effect the requisite compromise. The objection raised by the organist or choir-master is simply that the hours of school-work leave the boys no time, or only an inconvenient time, for the necessary musical practice. And perhaps, too, it may appear a grievance that he cannot sometimes give the boys an extra musical drilling, when the exigencies of the service seem to call for it. He may say, with considerable plausibility,—nay, with no small amount of justice on his side,—"I am held responsible for the due performance of the music in church; if the choir breaks down through lack of rehearsal, the blame rests on me; is it not hard, is it not unjust, is it not intolerable, that I should have to bear such reproaches for a fault which it is out of my power to correct? How can I give more time to practising the choir, seeing that the boys must be at work in the grammar school so many hours? I cannot deprive them of their hours for meals, nor of the few moments of recreation which their physical well-being requires; if I did, they would break down from exhaustion, and I should equally bear the blame." The choir-master might very fairly argue in this way, and with great show of reason. On the other hand, the master of the grammar school might with equal fairness complain of the interruptions to his teaching which would arise from the attendance of the choir-boys at the daily services and at vocal practice. It is, indeed, not easy to devise a scheme of school-work so arranged, as to time, as to avoid such interruptions as we have mentioned. No doubt it is very bad for a few boys to have to absent themselves from their class daily at certain hours, and perhaps to return again during a lesson, disturbing

* P. 216.

the other boys, and making it difficult for the master to carry on his work. It is bad, not only for the choristers, who thus lose a portion of the day's schooling, but also for the other boys, whose instruction they interrupt. No wonder, then, that the master complains and objects. But in order to remedy all these objections, it is merely necessary to arrange that some *extra subjects* shall be taught during the enforced absence of the chorister-boys from the school, so that they should not lose the more important and fundamental part of the teaching; and further, that the time when the classes begin and end, and the subjects are changed, should coincide with the departure and return of the choristers from the schoolroom. By a little contrivance of this kind, most of the difficulties may be partially or entirely smoothed away. It must evidently be possible to combine school-work and choir-work, otherwise it could never have happened that so large a number of choristers as are recorded in Dr. Millard's book and elsewhere should have distinguished themselves in after life as scholars, divines, and literary men. The writer of this Essay could name at least twenty men of his own acquaintance who were brought up as choristers, and afterwards carried off the highest academical honours; and he has ascertained that, in Hereford, choristers have risen to be head of the cathedral grammar school twice within the last three years; and doubtless similar instances could be easily multiplied in connection with other cathedrals.

What a complete career might be sketched out for a man, supposing the true choral idea to be fully carried out in the way which has been here recommended! Let us suppose our friend to possess a good natural aptitude for music, and a good natural voice. He is elected, consequently, to be a chorister at our ideal cathedral, where he is boarded and lodged at the house of a clergyman, where a good matron attends to his physical well-being, and he has for his companions some fifteen other lads, of different ages, of good character and conduct, and all equally well cared for and looked after. He goes daily, at the stated hours, to the grammar school, where he learns Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and where a thoroughly good course of English and general instruction is afforded him. Being a clever and diligent lad, he rises steadily in the school, and at length competes for and carries off prizes; and then he begins

to think of his University career, and of the exhibitions belonging to the school, one of which he hopes eventually to secure.

Meanwhile, his musical powers are being gradually developed—his voice gains strength and quality; he acquires facility in reading music at sight; he learns a musical instrument; he begins to take new delight in the musical services of the Church; he looks forward to his future musical acquirements as to a source of amusement, of refreshment, of edification, of social harmony, and of religious devotion. The organist encourages his efforts. He finds the practice of music an agreeable change after the very different work of the schoolroom; but above all does he become attached to the Church of which he is a humble minister: he learns to love the services of the sanctuary,—they are to him a foretaste of heaven. There his character as a devout Christian boy is steadily cultivated and strengthened;—he longs for the future day when he may be permitted to become an ordained servant of God's sanctuary,—he resolves to do all he can to prepare himself for this holy work. All the surroundings of his daily occupations are calculated to breathe into his inmost heart a very perfume of divine love and holy fervour. The architecture of the cathedral, the historical associations which it calls up, the chants, and the services, and the anthems, the rolling organ,—all these influences are acting on him continually in a good direction, for he is a lad of pure mind, and in our ideal cathedral he has never experienced any of those corrupting and debasing temptations which are now everywhere to be deplored. In process of time his voice leaves him, and his career as a chorister comes to an end; he, however, remains still at the school, and can now devote more time to his various studies than heretofore. The Dean and Chapter give him a small sum of money on his leaving the choir; he also carries off school prizes. At length he is successful in gaining an exhibition, and entering on his University course He secures his degree creditably, and begins to read theology with a view to Ordination. Meanwhile, his voice has returned to him, and his study and practice of music has never been given up. He is ordained to a minor canonry in his old cathedral, and at length realizes the dream of his boyhood, and carries out the bright promise of his early years.

Will any one say that this sketch is an impossibility, or that

such a life is unnatural? Is there anything to prevent such a picture from being carried out in real life? Nay, are there not living examples of something very similar? One such instance,* at least, exists wherein all the main features of our sketch have really had their share, and it is hard to see why such cases should not be many.

Of course it must be admitted that an increased expenditure would be required, in most cathedrals, in order to carry out such a scheme in its integrity. It would have been well if some of the funds derived from suppressed prebends and canonries, and now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, could have been rescued from Non-Capitular uses, and appropriated to the furtherance of some such plan of Choristers' education. May it not be possible to do something of the sort even yet? No course which could be adopted would possess a greater number of combined advantages. The cause of religion, the interests of the Church, the improvement of education, the advancement of musical knowledge and taste, the removal of acknowledged abuses and scandals,—all these good objects would be served if so good a design could be carried out. But perhaps some one will say that it is now too late,—that the time for such efforts is past,—that the cathedrals have been so shorn of their revenues as to be unable to spend their remaining small surplus on their choristers. To such an objector it will suffice to reply that unless our cathedrals do prosecute some such reforms themselves without delay, their revenues will probably be still further cut down, and the power of doing good which they now possess be taken away altogether. Moreover, this is the very best time for initiating such a movement, because education is just now occupying an exceptional share of public attention, and there is consequently a better chance now than formerly of interesting the surrounding neighbourhood in the work, and thus securing contributions of pecuniary aid for its due prosecution. No time, then, should be lost.

In these days of rapid changes, and of want of regard for old institutions, it is difficult to write hopefully of the prospects of such ancient foundations as our cathedrals; but if anything can save them from the destructive sweep of the innovating

* For obvious reasons, the name of the excellent gentleman here alluded to is suppressed.

besom, it must be a very extensive setting of their own houses in order. By this means their extinction may be, perhaps, indefinitely postponed. The efficiency and good moral condition of their choristers, together with a general furbishing up of the whole choral machinery, would seem to be one of the very first things to be attended to. If the suggestions which have been made in the foregoing pages should give an impetus in this direction, some good will have been accomplished, nor will this Essay have been written in vain.

In conclusion, the thanks of the writer of this Essay, as of all who sympathise with the cause herein advocated, are due to one who may be said to have been among the very first to draw attention to the status of our Cathedral Choristers, and to whom is due no small part of the improvements which have of late years been made in their treatment. With the name of no one could these remarks be more appropriately concluded than with that of the Choir-boy's greatest friend, Miss Hackett.

Frederick A. Gore Ouseley.

ESSAY X.

THE RELATION OF THE CHAPTER TO THE BISHOP.

By the REV. E. W. BENSON, D.D.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

A Bishop and his Chapter in the sixteenth century; his directions and what power he had to give them—Capitular bodies an Episcopal institution universally—early presbyters often cœnobitic — Chapters became again very generally cœnobitic in eighth and ninth centuries —but this common life only accidental—other accidental characteristics — Divine service, Property, Education — Their Essential function Conciliar — Their two heads corresponding to their two lives and double rights.

I.—As a Corporation proper; (1) self-summoned on mandate; (2) excluding their episcopal head — modern Papal changes; (3) internal Economy; (4) Fabric; (5) Cure of Souls; (6) Divine service, and the Bishop's part therein; (7) liable to visitation *corporaliter* — and *personaliter*—and to correction —(8) but the Bishop's power of correcting them was limited.

II. As the Episcopal Council (*a*) in co-operation with the Bishop — their opinions necessary to the validity of some episcopal acts of great importance—and formerly still more extensive, affecting his patronage and ordination—fundamentally necessary to the validity of his Synods —because they are the nucleus of a Synod—(Definition of a Synod)— Their place in full Synods—unfortunate misapplication of the name to contemporary public meetings (*b*) having also an independent action—initiatory in case of Episcopal misconduct, and governmental in vacancy of the see. Their acts issue from their Chapter House, and the Bishop cannot convene them elsewhere; (*c*) *Vis Simultanea* of Bishop and Chapter—on commissions — in legislation — in making Prebendaries — in making Honorary Canons.

III. All these relations were under Canon Law — and worked beneficially upon Episcopacy—by Perpetuity of Tradition—Moral Support—Independence.

IV. Decay of these relations, and breaking up for the time of the great Capitular system — mainly through the social isolation of prelates — traced historically in the history of the Church of Lincoln —the first Chapter of Lincoln, eleventh century—St. Hugh's carefully selected Chapter. twelfth century — Grosseteste's Chapter, thirteenth century; recovery to the bishop of neglected right of Visitation; his respect for the Chapter; —their evasions and forgeries; his logic and law — Bishop Alnwick's Chapter, fifteenth century; their zeal for discipline; the grand Reform by the Bishop and Chapter; new code drawn up, *i.e.* the present body of statutes. Definitions and rules on the relation of the Bishop to the Chapter—Bishop Longland's Chapter, sixteenth century—Seventeenth century: Headship of Bishop recognized in form, and in some acts of government; Bishop Sanderson; Bishop Barlow visits the Chapter; Bishop Tenison makes decrees. — Eighteenth century: Bishop Wake visits the Chapter in 1709; his violation of their rights corrected; answers of Dean and Chapter; he visits the Chapter in 1712 and makes constitutions; in 1715,—and Bishop Gibson in 1718; —in all these Visitations the observance of the Statutes examined.— Nineteenth century: Novel views and ignorance as to the true relations of the Bishop and Chapter in 1854. End of nineteenth century: Revival of ancient, and prospect of new Councils—Non-residence, as legalized by Archbishop Laud, chief cause of desuetude.

V. Summary: Suspension of relations neither bore, nor was ever expected to bear, useful fruit—Restoration of Chapters to their primitive idea— Richness in church-life to be looked for. Church re-unions, central church works, and organized spiritual efforts rather than detached parochial cures proper to the mother church, but above all conciliar work, —not hopeless, and necessary to the primitive idea of Episcopacy and to contemporary usefulness — Modern tendencies towards conciliar action rather than isolated supremacy— The Capitular precedents of England especially valuable—their aim not to restrict, but to subserve, the *monarchia* — Renovation simpler, since among us the institution is only weakened, not corrupted or mutilated.

THE RELATION OF THE CHAPTER TO THE BISHOP.

"I recommend me right heartily unto you and have, according to your desire, sent down a commission to Dr. Prynne *ad dissolvendam visitationem meam*—trusting that you will take further order in the detections that shall stand in the law and the honour of God, to the wealth and continuance of that church, and to certify me according to my commission; and that you will now in your visitation take order amongst my prebendaries for the buildings and maintenance of their churches and houses, and corrections there to be done—that if you do not, I must and will supply your duty.

"I assure you there is more misliving committed within jurisdictions of my prebends than in much part of my diocese beside; but I mistrust not your diligency therein at this your visitation, but that you will deeply and groundly look thereupon for your discharge.

"Brother Dean, forasmuch as my cathedral church has not so many residentiaries as of old time has been accustomed to the maintenance of the honour of God there, and of that church, whereby households there are fewer in number, and houses within the same close, decay, and fall in ruin, with many other inconveniences that ensue of the same—and moreover the four dignitaries of my said church ought to be resident there, and personally there to make their abode,—and for that the Treasurer (next unto the Dean) has most care and charge, and ought specially there to be, and has of long season been absent from the said church, whereby many things are more out of order in the same—and shall be much comfortable unto you all, and relief unto your pains many ways in the burden of that church, to have a substantial wise man that can and will take pains as well in all causes concerning the church as his office,—in consideration whereof I have given the office of Treasurer unto Mr. Christopher Parker, who now comes unto you to be installed; purposing, God willing, as soon as I can provide a prebend for him, there to keep residence, having your and my brethren's good favour—whereunto I heartily pray you,

and that he may now have a house limited unto him for the same purpose. You have store and plenty of the same. Thus fare you heartily well.

"At my manor of Woburn, the 21 day of February [152$\frac{4}{5}$]."

I HAVE taken for a proëm, a letter from a Bishop to a Dean, which, so far as I know, has not been printed before, both because of the interest which clings to such a scene from the eve of our Reformation, and because its allusions bring into relief many of the relations which are the subject of this Essay.

The writer is Bishop Longland, confessor to King Henry the Eighth, a celebrated preacher, a man '*precibus deditus atque libris*,' who *immenso sumptu doctos nutrivit*, as his epitaph in Eton College Chapel tells us, and whose heart lies buried in one of the fairest shrines of Lincoln Minster. He had recently held his ordinary visitation in the Chapter-house of his Cathedral; and on the 16th of the previous December he had sent to the Dean and Chapter in thirty-two folio leaves, as he says (in another letter in Latin) articles representing to them facts worthy of reformation. These he desired them to correct and punish before Easter, otherwise he meant—officii debitum prout tenemur exercere'—to correct them himself.

In the mean time he requests them to certify his chancellor or himself of the execution of his directions. He then dissolves his visitation, restoring the various jurisdictions of the Dean and Chapter which during its continuance had been suspended. Next follows the expression of anxiety and care for the dignity and good order of the society.

Elsewhere we find that the former treasurer, Dr. London, resigned his office though he continued to be a prebendary, immediately before the appointment of Mr. Parker; so that it is evident that his non-residence was speedily "corrected."

We will now review the conditions under which the bishop found himself invested with these and similar responsibilities, and with adequate powers of government and correction.

In thus acting he was obeying the Statutes and the practice

of his Cathedral. Its statutes, however, were in no respect privilegia; they were but a fragment of a powerful and well understood system of law—jus commune—which existed throughout Europe; which statutes framed for particular cathedrals could not contravene and could modify only in some particulars.[1]

The exceeding antiquity of the institution is indicated among other things by its diffusion, or rather by its universality. Its origin cannot be traced to any enactments—imperial, papal, or conciliar. It is not possible to point to any episcopal chair which is not at once seen surrounded by its senatus, presbyterium, consilium, or cardinales. The word *capitulum* expresses this identical body, but became fashionable only with the popularity of the monastic orders from whom it was adopted.

The episcopal origin of the body was shown in their wearing habitually the same dress as the bishop, namely the rochet, instead of the alb, and in some chapters even the mitre.[2] In these early episcopal institutions there are of course resemblances to the arrangements of the fourth century, and though it would be uncritical to connect them (as was formerly done) in the way of historical descent, yet it would of course be equally uncritical to say that the example of Augustine[3] was not com-

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[1] Compare even the latest views on this subject in the Council of Cologne for instance A.D. 1536 [Part iii. c. 19, Labbe, vol. xix. p. 1238, ed. Venet. 1730]—Habent fere quotquot sunt cathedrales ac collegiatæ ecclesiæ *suum volumen peculiarium statutorum* (I do not like to quote the strongest parts) . . . et quantumvis *pleraque inter hæc iniqua reperiantur*, adiguntur tamen omnes (newly admitted Canons) ut ad ejusmodi statutorum observationem, *etiam ignari quid contineant illa*, citra ullum delectum sese jurejurando alligent. The Bishops and Chapters are desired to review these volumes, and *quæ disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ minus consentanea reperta fuerint resecare*, and are admonished *ad coercendam illam immoderatam in capitulis juramentorum exactionem*. Van Espen (tom. ii. p. 643, ed. Lovan. 1778) remarks *quam periculoso fundamento* any canons rely who *prætextu statutorum* (and what would he say to "Precedent"?) se eximere *non verentur* from wider ecclesiastical definitions of their onerous duties.

[2] Toledo, Mainz, Vienne, Macon, &c. Walcott, Sacred Archæology, p. 384.—ED.]

[3] "Perveni ad episcopatum: vidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque venientibus, sive transeuntibus . . . si autem ista consuetudo in monasterio permissa esset" (*i. e.* in a monastery proper, such as he had lived in till now), "indecens esset; et ideo volui habere in domo ista episcopi mecum monasterium clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate nostra habere aliquid proprium. Sed forte aliqui habent: nulli licet. Si qui habent faciunt quod non licet." Aug. (de comm. cler. suorum vita), serm. 1, ad Pop. Hippon.

monly present to the minds of the societies of the eighth or ninth.

The term *Canonici*,[4] *i.e.* "inscribed on the canon, matricula or album of the Church," is said not to occur before the sixth century, but the societies so called did not differ materially from earlier ones.

The members of this council were naturally at first the *parochi civitatis*, presbyters and deacons of the city only;[5] here and there we find traces of their sharing the bishop's table and purse; usually their maintenance was from the common church-fund, without a common establishment.

The eighth and ninth centuries, however, saw this very generally introduced. In the Rule drawn up for the reform of the Canons of Metz[6] by their great Bishop Chrodogang (Godegrand) A.D. 755, "chancellor" to Charles Martel and Pepin, which Rule was widely diffused through the influence of Charlemagne and Louis I., occurs perhaps the first absolute prescription of a common dormitory and refectory. There is to be a gated close within which some only of the canons are by licence from the bishop allowed to occupy separate "mansiones." The heads of this society are (under the Bishop) —(1) The Archdeacon, (2) The Primicerius,[7] (3) The Cellerarius. Even this officer is suffered "to do nothing without the Bishop or his deputy."[8] The Bishop, though it seems that they were not under his roof, is spoken of as a constant living member of the society. Each member makes a gift of

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The word *monasterium* was not uncommonly applied even in the middle ages to cathedrals and collegiate churches which had no extant connection with monastic orders: *e.g.* Arras, Cambray, Malines, Liere (*Atrabatense*, *Cameracense*, *Mechliniense*, *Liranum*, *Monasterium*), are quoted from documents. Perhaps this may, through some traditional use, explain Lincoln Minster, Beverley Minster, Winborne Minster, York Minster, Southwell Minster.

[Lye's Anglo-Saxon Dict. gives mynstre-preost = parochus, mynsterham = Ecclesiæ domus, mynstre-clœnsung = Ecclesiæ reconciliatio.—ED.]

[4] Thomassini (I. iii. 8, 7) quotes from the Historia Augusta the word *Canon* as of frequent occurrence to signify the *Catalogus Militum*, to whom the distributions of annona were made, though in common with Van Espen he unfortunately considers the name Canonici to come from their observing, or even from their duty of studying, canons.

[5] Thomassini shews and accounts for the fact that we not unfrequently find mention of bishops among those bodies. De Beneff. P. I. Lib. iii. c. vii. § 9, 10.

[6] Labbe, Concil. vol. ix. p. 534.

[7] Not *primitiarius* as Thomassini and others write it—Cf. Secundicerius, &c. [cera].

[8] Labbe, Regula S. Chrodogangi, cap. xxv.

his property to the cathedral before admission, receiving during his life the interest of it. For a time then after this period an ecclesiastical family is formed as in the days of St. Augustine or St. Honoré. Various councils in these centuries adopt or modify this Rule (one of the most important documents relating to discipline), and either enjoin or assume on the part of canons a life of absolute intimacy with their bishop.

Thus in 789 A.D. we have in the Capitulare of Aix-la-Chapelle:[9]—"They must live canonically after their rule, and *the bishop must direct their living* as an abbot does that of monks." In the second council of Tours, 813 A.D., "The canons and clerks of the cities who *dwell in the bishops' houses* we have decreed are to live within closes, to sleep all in one dormitory, take their meals in one refectory . . . . *food and clothing they are to receive according to the means of the bishop.*"[10] And in 876 in the councils of Pavia and Pontion it is ordered "that bishops shall institute in their cities close to their church a cloister in which they themselves with their clergy, according to the canonical rule, may serve God, and constrain their priests not to leave their churches and presume to live elsewhere."[1] These last and various other enactments are in pursuance of the elaborate Regula Canonicorum of the Council of Aix in 816, which was based on the principle of common life, and of which copies were sent with an imperial letter to every metropolitan.[2]

But the principle of common life and property was never made absolute. The possession of private means was, even under these rules, considered as proper to the canonical life[3] as

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[9] Capitulare Aquisgranense (A.D. 789) c. 73; Labbe, Concil. vol. ix. p. 26.

[10] Thomassini, P. I. Lib. iii. c. ix. § 7.

[1] Labbe, Conc. vol. xi. p. 285, c. viii.; Miræus Reg. Can. Auctarium, c. xvii. p. 92. And so, ibid. p. 93, in a delightful letter from Wazon, Dean of Liège A.D. 1030, to a presumptuous Præpositus, we have "Canonicam claustri vitam . . . Distat inter canonicam et clericam quod Canonico non clerico debetur claustrum."

[2] A letter of Hettus, Abp. of Treves, to the Bp. of Toul, recommends the bishops everywhere, in pursuance of that missive, to complete the building and furnishing of the *Ministratoriæ Canonicorum Officinæ* within three years.—Labbe, vol. ix. p. 531.

[3] "Quanquam canonicis liceat . . . dare et accipere proprias res et ecclesiæ habere, quod monachis penitus inhibitum est.—Canonicos qui suis et ecclesiæ licite utuntur rebus."—Council of Aix-la-Chapelle A.D. 816, Lib. i. c. cxv.; ap. Labbe, vol. ix. p. 479; Miræus, p. 67.

renunciation was to monasticism. The frequent distribution of the common estate of a cathedral, centuries later, into "*mensa* episcopalis" and "*mensa* capitularis" (at a time when in most places many canons were non-resident, and the residents had private establishments, and the only table kept up was that of the vicars and ministers,) was perhaps a reminiscence of that earlier condition. At no time had the cœnobitic life (however usefully introduced) any connection with the original and essential idea of the institution.[4]

Neither is the *Daily Service* of such essence according to the view of the canonists. Chapters have existed for centuries with no common Office except on Sundays and certain festivals. And it is ruled that even these may be intermitted without destroying the capitular character. As a matter of fact it is said that some important chapters of France are, owing to "tot alia munia," unable to give much attendance in choir. And just as Gregory the Great forbids presbyters and deacons to assume too engrossing a part in the public service, so the spirit of our old cathedral statutes is that "canons must often have, and ought to have, more imperative duties."[5] And, says Van Linda, the learned Bishop of Ghent, to his canons, "nulla ratione putent se apud Deum excusari, si solum officio recitando occupantur."[6]

The Regula Canonicorum (A.D. 816) finely describes the proper character of their service—"Due praises humbly paid, with such sweetness of reading and of melody as shall comfort the learned and educate the ignorant. Their purpose the people's edification rather than empty pleasingness;" but

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[4] The cathedral of Rheims, among its other glories, appears to have maintained the common life later than any church. Cardinal Ximenes at Toledo, and St. Charles Borromeo at Milan, made the latest efforts to restore the "apostolic tenor of life." It was an anachronism however.

[5] *E. g.* "Canonici ecclesiæ nostræ plerumque variis occupationibus præpediti non semper in ipsa ecclesia residentiam facere possunt . . . utilitatibus deservientes ecclesiasticis . . . assiduitatem [in choro] exigimus moderatam . . . non ut omnibus horis cogatur interesse sed ut singulis diebus *uni* horæ canonicæ ad minus *vel* missæ majori illius diei intersit *nisi* a . . . aut alias *in negotiis ecclesiæ* occupatus sit."—*Stat. Linc.* Hence the institution of vicars to maintain the service is in our cathedrals as ancient as that of the canons: they are not, as is sometimes stated, the deputies of neglectful absentees. Van Espen exhorts the Resident canons to be the more diligent in the choir office, dum sciunt Confratres suos [Docentes in Universitatibus] *aliis majoribus negotiis pro ecclesia occupari*, P. III. c. v. § 6.

[6] Quoted by Van Espen, P. I. c. ii. § 1 (vol. i. p. 59).

even this Van Espen correctly applies to the vicars not the canons.[7]

Neither is the possession of common Property, or receipt of Stipends essential, nor the conduct of Divinity schools, or Seminaries. All these particulars belong to Cathedral Chapters, but as the canonists say, only *per accidens.*

What is "*essential*" is briefly that they be "Diœcesis Senatus," whose duty is "auxiliari episcopo sede plena: supplere, sede vacante."

The most splendid relic of the institution—and it is nothing more—is still to be seen in fulness of life in the Roman college of Cardinals. They, like their "Papa," only preserved for themselves an ancient name and an ancient activity, which were once to be found in every Diocese.[8]

In the multitude of foundation deeds of cathedrals, there is no variation from this object to be found expressed. Thomassini concludes from his mass of evidence that *everywhere* the clerici cathedralium ecclesiarum coalescebant in unum quoddam veluti corpus cum episcopo et in partem solicitudinis atque imperii sacri quandam societatem veniebant. Van Espen, with most contrary church-views, that their Præcipuum officium was opera et *consilio episcopo* in *regimine* ecclesiæ assistere.[9] So our own Reginald Pole, "Cum canonicatus et præbendas in ecclesiis instituendi *ratio* et *causa* hæc fuerit, *ut qui ad eos assumuntur Episcopo assistant*, eumque in muneris sui functione consilio et opera adjuvent, et in divinis," &c.[10] As a single illustration of the practical completeness of their unity in working we may just refer to the council of Perpignan (Helenense A.D. 1065), in which the assembled bishops and counts again and again refer offences against the Truce of God to the investigation and sentence of "Episcopi *vel ejus canonicorum.*" The Bishop *or*

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[7] Reg. Can. Concil. Aquisgran. Lib. i. c. 133. (Labbe, vol. ix. p. 488.) Van Espen, Pars III. c. 2.

[8] Thus, Thomassini, P. I. Lib. iii. c. vii. § 8, also § 12, antiquioris et in hac re elimatissimæ disciplinæ specimen. In the institution of the chapter at Compostella, as late as 1099, they are styled "cardinals." Earlier the name was quite familiar; as, for instance, Pope Zachary, 741, requests of Pepin that the bishops may be dressed after their rank, and likewise the "presbyteri cardinales." So, Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, "nos cum nostris cardinalibus;" and a bull of Bened. VII., A.D. 975, speaks of the cardinal presbyters of Treves. (Du Cange, s. v.)

[9] Van Espen, *Pars* I. c. ii. § 1 heading.

[10] Reg. Poli de Reformatione, Decr. 3. Labbe, vol. xx. p. 1019.

Canons have not only power of excommunication but of inflicting exile also. However, the principle is universal.[1] Hence the pains taken to ensure competence in such advisers. Chapters were to consist in about equal proportions of Theologians and of Canonists. Again various councils limited all the Dignities and half or a third of the canonries to the higher University degrees in Divinity and Law.[2]

Modern popes, though they have done all that was possible to weaken chapters, have not ventured to interfere with the theory. Pius VII. when he suppressed every Cathedral in France in 1801, re-erected chapters because it was needful "consulere episcoporum consilio." Pius IX., though he has in his turn invaded the Spanish Chapters, still treats them as constituting "Episcoporum senatus consiliumque."

From these principles which have been historically observed with almost universal fidelity, it has been ruled to follow that a chapter stripped of its property and withdrawn from liturgies would be a chapter still: but that a chapter deprived of the right of aiding the bishop's work and supplying his place—though exercising every other function—would be excluded from the definition of a chapter. It would be a college of clerics, but not even the Church (say all authorities) could rule that it was a chapter.

Again it follows that a chapter must have a real completeness, both separately and in conjunction with the bishop; and hence that it has two heads, yet "is no monster," as an old author says; because while without the bishop it is not acephalous but a living body (sociale corpus), it is so in a different relation from that in which it forms the mysticum corpus, of which the bishop is the head. He is "Principale Caput," while the dean, provost, &c., is "Caput Numerale."[3]

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[1] Erat Capitulum episcopi cujusque et ecclesiæ cathedralis, clerus ille, illi presbyteri diaconique qui cum episcopo de rebus quibusque deliberabant, qui una clavum regebant ecclesiæ, qui causas et judicia nomine ejus agitabant, qui una assidebant vel astabant synodis, qui ejus nomine et vice conciliis aderant. (Thomassini, I. iii. vii. 7.)

[2] Van Espen, Pars I. c. iii. iv.

[3] De Duplici Capite see de Bouix (P. I. § ii. c. 2), whose Tractatus de Capitulis is the most convenient manual in this part of our subject (Paris, 1852). It may be convenient here to specify the editions I refer to throughout:—Labbe, Concilia Venet., 1728, with Mansi's supplement; Thomassini, Vetus et Nova Eccl. Disciplina, De Beneficiis, Pars I. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

It is (1) a council, in which capacity it not only has a right to be consulted, but a claim to offer advice—in certain cases may take the initiative.

(2) A corporation, free to discuss its corporate affairs; charged with the regulation, under certain limitations (statutable and other), of the Cathedral Service, and with the cure of souls. As an ecclesiastical corporation it is subject to the visitation of the bishop.

In the *first* capacity the Bishop, though he cannot be constrained by the advice of his council, nevertheless unconstitutionally neglects his chapter if he does not *consult* it.

And in the *second*, he neglects an important part of his diocesan duty if he does not *visit* it.

I.

These heads we must follow into detail: and first we will consider the Chapter *as a corporation*.

(1) For the transaction of business it was summoned by the dean, provost, primicerius, or other chief dignitary, who sent notice of the meeting (when not on fixed days), but not necessarily of the business to be transacted. It did not belong to his office to summon them individually. They could be cited by the dean or other head of the sociale corpus, in obedience to a mandate from the bishop addressed to him;[4] or as some of our cathedral statutes somewhat awkwardly but correctly express it, "capitulum per decanum et capitulum convocari debet." If the dean declined to issue a summons, it could be legally issued in obedience to the bishop's mandate by the next senior, and so on, and was a valid summons.

(2) It is fundamental, as all canonists agree, that the bishop has no voice *in negotiis capitularibus*. When it meets to discuss its own affairs, the bishop has no right to be present except

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to x., Magont, 1787; Van Espen, 'De Instituto et Officc. Canonicorum,' Jus. Eccl., vol. iii. pp. 585, ed. Lovan, 1778; Frances de Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Venet., 1698; Gavanti Manuale Episcoporum (Thesaur. Rit., vol. iii., Aug. Vindel., 1763); The Institutiones Juris Canonici, Paris, 1853; Miræus Antv., 1638.

[4] The Dean's power of summoning is so absolute, that he is in some statutes requested not to exercise it unless sure that the cause ought to outweigh the other calls upon the canons.

he is also a prebendary; even then he is bound to retire if the chapter desire to discuss questions touching his episcopal office, or relations to them. His vicar-general is in the same position.[5] But while the vicar has no rank there except his prebendal seniority, the bishop takes the first place after the president, whether dean, precentor, or senior, present in meetings for capitular business.[6]

Pius IX., whose confusions of discipline, if less important, are no less glaring than his inventions of doctrine, by a concordat made with the Spanish cathedrals in 1851, provided that the bishop might be present at every chapter meeting and have a casting vote, and in elections have a fifth part of the votes. But no such customs are to be found in earlier times.

(3) The Chapter had an absolute right to manage its common property, to hold its own courts, to confer its livings; and, for internal discipline—through the dean (who was usually accompanied by two canons)—to visit all prebendal estates and churches, to inspect their order and management, and cause all needful corrections to be made, appropriating the incumbent's dividend for the purpose. Abroad, where the stipends of the canons are now paid by Government, the right of the chapter is not disputed to keep, by fines, the same hold upon discharge of duty by the members which it formerly possessed through the dividend (distributio) of the communa.[7]

(4) The fabric fund is under their administration, subject to the Bishop's "correction" in his visits. He could compel them to repair the buildings; but if the fund was insufficient, a larger power became his,[8] because his revenues were the first liable to be applied; it devolved upon him then to fix the taxation both of his chapter and of all his parishes for the

[5] Archdeacons and other dignitaries are not members of the chapters of any country except Italy, unless they have "stall in choir and voice in chapter" assigned at their election. In Italy they are always members of the chapter.

[6] In modern times, the Council of Trent has reserved the prima in capitulo sedes to the Bishop in capitular as well as Diocesan business. Previously the Archbishop of Rouen it seems was singular in holding that place. Thomassini, I. iii. x. 6.

[7] The existing rule at Milan Cathedral is as follows: "The Chapter is Major and Minor, sixteen in one and eight in the other, in their reduced form. They are bound to attend prayers three times a day, and their stipends are regulated accordingly. A system of '*punti*,' *marks*, for every service and every part of a service, was laid down by St. C. Borromeo. What any lose by non-attendance is divided among the whole body when the marks are added up, so that they receive back a portion of what they pay."—ED.]

[8] Frances, c. xiii.

reparation, &c., of the cathedral. Chapters have in Roman churches frequently maintained against the bishop their independence as to the administration of the fabric fund, but the decision has (according to De Bouix) apparently been usually in favour of the bishop.

(5) The Dean had cura animarum of the whole chapter[9] and establishments of the cathedral, and they with him of the parish which was frequently attached to the cathedral. For the administration, however, of the Cathedral parish custom abroad added a "perpetual vicar" to the vicars choral—a useful reform, which the Council of Trent converted into law.

(6) All the details of divine service, and the regulation of its officers, fall within the scope of the chapter. But, when the Bishop, as "Principale Caput," attended, "the other head" disappeared. The choir-salutations (that seemly usage which our brusqueness, rather than our piety, has given up in some of our cathedrals) which were to be paid to the dean in the bishop's absence, were in his presence made to him only. All the benedictions (those before the Lessons and Gospels, as well as at the close or opening of the services) could be pronounced only by him. When he expressed his intention of celebrating, the "turns" of all other persons gave way. All other seats were assigned. But he could direct his seat to be fixed where he pleased, and could order seats to be placed for him in various parts of the church. At his installation he was placed in the fixed throne, but occupied the Dean's stall during a portion of the service. He was conducted to the chapter house, and there seated in the first place.

(7) These are only symbols. To pass to more important things: in every act and function the Dean and Chapter are subject to the visitation of the Bishop. Inasmuch as he was bound to take care that they passed nothing illegal, he could require to see the capitular acts and resolutions. Canonists have held that he cannot ordinarily visit more than twice a year. The ordinary custom up till the last century was to commence the triennial visitation of the Diocese by the visitation of the Cathedral.

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[9] Cathedral statutes often prescribe the manner and form in which the Dean is to visit, confess, and communicate a sick canon—requesting him, however, to give place should the canon wish to have another confessor.

He then proceeded to visit their prebendal houses, estates, and churches, and, to avoid complications in this operation, all the jurisdictions of the dean and prebendaries were suspended by a monition from the bishop until the visitation was "dissolved." The vicars who were appointed by each prebendary to the curacy of their prebendal livings had no relation to the chapter at any time, but held immediately under the bishop.[10]

Whatever abuses or faults were revealed by the visitation were communicated in a written form to the chapter, with an injunction to them to correct them by a given day. If this was omitted, the bishop took order himself for their correction.

For a time the usage of visitations of the Cathedrals fell almost into abeyance in this country. But after its revival by Grosseteste—who, in his persevering controversy, was "winning back," as he said, "the dropped rights of all the bishops of England"—no serious objections seem ever to have been offered to this episcopal duty. Resumed after the Restoration, they steadily continued until the apathy of the eighteenth century stifled them, together with so much else of church life.

(8) The Canon Law was careful to state that the bishop's punishments ought not to go beyond such penalties as were sufficient for correction, but this obligation was only moral. The proper court for prosecuting a canon was constituted of the bishop himself with two canons designated by him. The bishop had one vote and the two canons one: if they were not agreed, a third canon was introduced, and then, if necessary, the whole case was referred to a neighbouring bishop. Appeals could be heard by the archbishop, by the legate, or by the curia. In these respects no formal change has taken place, but by the necessary substitution of other courts of appeal.

The Bishop could inflict excommunication upon individual Canons if he thought it necessary, or lay an interdict upon the Church, or, if he thought it impolitic to do so, could (as Grosseteste actually did) prohibit the offenders whatever their rank, from setting foot in the Cathedral. An excommunication of the whole chapter was illegal.

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[10] Cf. Stat. Linc., "Nobis (Episcopo) subsunt immediate."

II.

We must now secondly consider the Chapter as *a Council*, and

(a) *In co-operation with the Bishop.*

(1) The Chapter, or any part of them, "summoned by Dean and Chapter" in obedience to the Bishop's mandate, were bound to assemble, and to consider any subject which he brought before them, relating to episcopal dignity, jurisdiction, administration, or "regimen"—this "unanimiter canonistæ"—but not touching his personal "commodum," say most of the authorities, although, according to others, this too may be brought before them if he absents himself from the discussion.

Their opinions were not taken by votes but given in speeches; and, as the Bishop alone had jurisdiction—"monarchia"—he was, of course, not bound to follow their advice.

There were, however, several points on which his action was invalid, unless he had asked their "consilium," and some in which their "consensus" was required. This was recognized as fundamental canon law. Upon the general maxim that the bishop is "positus regere ecclesiam suam," it followed that any such limitations of his power as require the consensus of others must be defined *a jure expresse.* They are summed up under these heads:—Alienation of property; Presentation to benefices in the patronage of the Cathedral Church; Union of such benefices, &c.; Loans or mortgages; Questions affecting the interest of the chapter, as, *e.g.*, increase or diminution of the number of canonries; The creation of Archdeaconries;[1] The convening of Synods.[2]

It is only custom which has dispensed with the ancient principle that the chapter were to be consulted before collation to *any* benefices. "Prælatus sine consilio capituli instituere vel destituere vel alia negotia ecclesiæ tractare non debet," is the old maxim quoted by De Bouix, who illustrates it by the fact that, in 1159, *all* the institutions of the Latin Patriarch at Jerusalem were pronounced invalid on the representation of the chapter, that they had not been consulted.

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[1] Gavanti, Man. Epp. p. 84, Addit. 1.
[2] 'Instit. Juris Canonici,' L. vi. c. 2. Gavanti, Man. Epp. p. 93.

Similarly custom[3] has abolished the necessity of consulting them in criminal proceedings against, and deprivations of, clerks. But this was once recognized as a most important part of the canonical function.

And generally so intimate were their duties and rights that they could not be better expressed than by the complaint laid before Innocent III. by the chapter of Angoulême against their bishop, that he "causas difficiles tractaret sine canonicorum assensu."

(3) At *ordinations* they were properly speaking the examiners, the archdeacon of the cathedral jurisdiction presented candidates, and the canons laid hands upon them. The examining office was early delegated to one member of their body, *e.g.*, the memoranda of Bishop Longland contain very extended lists of ordinations, signed "Antonio Draycott [a Prebendary] Examinatore."

The fact that the Bishops' Examining Chaplains are usually prebendaries or honorary canons is a relic of the usage.

(4) Before the bishop held a *Synod,* his first step (and it was held fundamental) was to convene the chapter and consult them as to the manner of holding it, as well as to communicate to them the constitutions intended to be promulgated.[4] The "pars major et sanior" was to be allowed great weight in determining questions, though they could not overrule his judgment.

A Synod[5] was an assembly of the clerks of the diocese, lawfully summoned, under the bishop, for questions concerning their own diocese. Canonists hold that to original frequent imeetings of this kind there succeeded by steps, as numbers increased, the council of the clergy of the city, and finally of the cathedral. It would be more exact to say that the original meetings were those of the clergy of the city, gradually adding to their numbers the clergy of the neighbourhood and those of the diocese, while they themselves answered to and often became the cathedral clergy, or rather the canonical body.

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[3] Or "*ignorantia canonicorum,*" as Fagnani expresses it (ap. Thomassini), with respect to *their own rights.* "*De causis criminalibus cognoscere* Episcopi *haud quaquam possunt nisi cum canonicis suis,*" says Thomassini.

[4] Two months beforehand is the Roman rule.

[5] May I be permitted upon this subject to refer to the lucid and learned, though brief, exposition of the Bishop of Lincoln (Diocesan Synods, and Diocesan Conferences, 1871, Rivington)?

The synod was an expanded chapter, and the chapter a condensed synod. Although this is too *symmetrical* a statement to represent more than the merest outline of events as a historical process, still it presents in the clearest form the fact that there was no difference in character, or in subjects of discussion, between the synod and the chapter.

Again, the Synod is a "Generalis Visitatio," as St. Charles Borromeo (who held very large synods) expressed it. In it the results and experiences of particular visitations were generalized, and also the acts of *provincial* synods published.

The Council of Trent as well as our own Reformatio Legum direct that Diocesan Synods should be held once a year. Older laws often unobserved, had required them twice. To the convening of them no superior consent was required to be obtained by the bishop; and all regulations with respect to them have for their aim to make them as inclusive as possible, both of persons[6] and subjects. Lambertini (Benedict XIV.) points out[7] that the ancient records of synods are mostly silent as to the summoning of canons, and that some have held that they "may be *invitati*, not *exacti* as Parochi" and others are, to attend unless questions which concern them are discussed. Still, as almost every ecclesiastical question must be held to concern them, the difficulty has been only theoretical, and they have assigned to them, in their choir order, the third place in synods, *i.e.*, next after (1) the bishop and (2) his vicar-general.

The laity might be invited to attend, but not to speak. Their "consilium," if required by the bishop, was taken elsewhere.

The "Synod" being so well-defined an assembly, it is to be regretted that the name has been recently applied to some important assemblies of laity and clergy, in which there are motions and divisions, in which all speak and vote alike, and which are more properly to be denominated *conferences*. It is conceivable that in some churches these might become the "governing bodies." But the "synod" would never cease to have a proper existence, as a meeting of the bishop with his own clergy, to which the place of meeting, the ministering

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[6] *E.g.* unbeneficed clergy are by a Sacred Congregation in 1629 defined as bound to be present, if they receive notice that questions will be brought forward touching "reformatio morum" or "totus clerus."

[7] Ap. Institutiones Juris Canon., ix. 2.

dress worn, the reception of the Eucharist, &c., give almost the character of an act of worship.

Addresses were given, and opinions delivered and argued in the synod, but its assent was not necessary to the validity of episcopal constitutions then issued and published. These are subscribed by the bishop alone. It was a deliberative assembly, having weight and effect, but not a legislative one. Its spiritual character, is well expressed in words from an old Bishop of Verona, which refresh the drouth of the Institutiones. "Mihi certe nullus dies die synodi solet esse jucundior qui in maximis molestiis, quas tanti muneris cura affert, animum meum magis consoletur et recreet."

(b) *As to the independent power of the Chapter as a Council.*

(1) The Chapters met when they pleased, and of their own motion; the rest of the clergy could only meet by licence of the bishop.

(2) They had the power of initiation, in case of a bishop's vicious living, misbelief, mal-administration, or contempt of their own rights. Their first step was to send a remonstrance[8] (*monitio*) as sons to a father, and if it were unavailing, they appealed.

(3) Cases necessarily arose when the Dean and next senior were unwilling to summon the Chapter, though the majority desired it. In these cases, if the majority amounted to two-thirds, they simply met, the Chapter being said "*seipsum convocare*," the senior present presided, and this was a valid Chapter.

(4) Immediately upon the decease of a bishop all the administrative and legislative power devolved upon the Chapter. They visited, they convened synods, they held the episcopal courts, issued ecclesiastical censures, instituted to benefices, appointed to canonries which would have been in his gift, &c. Episcopal acts proper they could not do—*e. g.*, grant dimissory letters. During the vacancies of many years which our English kings arranged, these powers were excessively important, and the resignation of them after such vacancies was

[8] It appears that this right of monition has been disputed on the ground, "If a beast touch the mountain it shall be stoned."

one cause of the difficulties. They appointed as their representative a "Capitular Vicar" or "Official."

And here it should, perhaps, be mentioned that the acts of a chapter have no validity except their meetings are held in the chapter-house. As an interesting illustration of this general rule, we may quote the election of St. Hugh to the bishopric of Lincoln, which he himself declined to admit on the ground that it had not been so made. "Not," says he, "in a royal palace, or in a pontifical council, but in its own chapter-house must a church's bishop be elected. There, with prayers and the help of the Holy Ghost, they may elect."[9] Moreover, the bishop had no right to desire their presence elsewhere. When he summoned them he was bound to meet them in the Chapter-house. The sole customary exception being that they usually assembled in the bishop's house to hear and consider the subjects which it was proposed to lay before a Synod.

(c) There were certain matters in which what was called the *Vis Simultanea of the Bishop and Chapter* had to be exercised.

(1) If a commission were issued to the Cathedral Church, their reply was given by two votes, of which the Bishop had one, the Dean and Chapter another.

(2) In making statutes for the Cathedral it was essential that the Bishop and Chapter should concur. The excellent replies of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to the Commission of 1852, contain, in describing the practice of their own cathedral, so precise an account of the common law on the subject that it may be fitly quoted here:—"The statutes which govern the church of Exeter were enacted from time to time *pro re nata*. They were framed in the form of injunctions from the bishop, as visitor, requiring the more accurate observance of existing ordinances, or of new statutes, either suggested by the chapter to the visitor or framed by him at their request and with their concurrence, and finally accepted by the body. No instrument has ever been allowed to be of any force unless ratified by the bishop and chapter, and authenticated by the seals of both."

(3) In filling up the prebends, the bishop had the nomina-

[9] Mag. Vita S. Hugonis. c. ii.

tion, but the chapter had the power of installation. In many of the Old Cathedrals the prebends were of the bishops' own foundation—farms and churches which they had alienated from themselves for this express purpose. But, theoretically, they were supposed to be founded out of common estates of the church; and not to carry with them any episcopal or any capitular claims. The conferring of canonries is not an essentially episcopal act, upon the general maxim, "Conferre beneficia non est ordinis sed jurisdictionis," and the exercise of the "simultaneous power" has varied in every conceivable way. Sometimes bishop and chapter alternately appointed, sometimes jointly; sometimes by weeks or by months; sometimes the whole chapter alone; sometimes the two sides of the choir alternately; in France universally the bishop alone nominates at present. And while this is perhaps the arrangement which gives most hope of initiating a working council, it is nevertheless a neglect of the *jus simultaneum*, which would probably be injurious if chapters were once more active "committees."

(4) This right applied to the appointment of Honorary Canons as strictly as to that of others. The neglect of it by bishops led to serious causes which were invariably decided in favour of chapters. Neither the bishop alone nor the chapter alone could upon any ground increase the number of canons. In France, however, the *coutume* of appointing honorary canons by the bishop only is held to have grown into a right. Some bad reasons and many good ones gave rise to the creation of supernumerary or honorary canons. Favour, the reward of service, the decoration of distinguished churchmen, the need of assistance in the capitular work, the desire to beautify the liturgy in small establishments, the piety of persons wishing to be associated in the worship of some church, or the advantage of systematic training for the higher ecclesiastical functions, are among the numerous causes specified in biographies and elsewhere as leading to the appointment of canons, either expressly without prebends, or with succession to a vacancy; and the latter, both where prebendaries received their own rents, and where, as in some cases, although they bore the names, they received dividends only. If, as in many of the great ancient churches, the number of canons was fixed (*ecclesiæ numeratæ*)

then not only honorary canons, but any of more recent foundation, were called *super-numerary*, which it is well to remember, as the term might otherwise seem to imply some irregularity of tenure or position. Canons waiting for vacancies are irreverently called "*Canons at Grass*" (*in herbis*) in distinction from "*Canons in Stall.*" However, evidently possible abuses led to the abolition of such expectancies by the Council of Trent.

The number of canons varied in some churches (irrespectively of honorary canons) owing to an arrangement for increase or diminution in proportion to the state of the revenues.

Honorary canons *proper* (an institution revived among ourselves with sound knowledge of antiquity) are of very ancient and very general institution. They had canonical insignia, stall, and orders, but no voice in the chapter, at least in matters of property, or in elections.[10] But if they served in the church they had allowances and were at the direction of the chapter.

Although sovereigns were (Charlemagne in several churches) frequently canons of their chief chapters with or without prebends, it was probably in their sacred character.

When about the time of Urban II. the subdiaconate began to be accounted as a sacred order, a small number of subdeacons were attached as prebendaries to some cathedrals; but in their original canonici could only be presbyters and deacons, and the Council of Trent ordered that at least half should be presbyters. The Roman chapter of the cardinals stands alone in this respect, that though its cardinal-deaconries, and subdeaconries are frequently held by bishops, yet they are tenable by prælati who have been only admitted to the inferior orders.

Hence, if we read of laymen, founder's kinsmen, jurists, or courtiers, holding cathedral stalls in the middle ages, or conquerors like the Duke of Bedford at Rouen,—or of hereditary canons, as the kings of France (Counts of Anjou) and Dukes of Burgundy in the church of St. Martin of Tours and elsewhere, or the Dukes of Berry in St. John at Lyons, the Counts of Chastelus at Auxerre,[11]—it must be understood that it was,

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[10] In the Church of Rome the mere name of Canon was conferred (and may still be) without even a stall.

[11] Charles V. was a Canon of Bologna. The Emperors Henry VII. (1311) and Frederic III. (1452) Canons of St. Peter's. Of the last it is recorded that he "non injucunde cantavit" his

even then, either a peculiarity of the particular cathedral, or else an abuse. They were not honorary canons, as they occupied their stall, and held the revenues of the prebend assigned to them, but it may be doubtful whether the chapter always installed them like the Sire de Beauvois, with a surplice over their armour, the amice on the left arm, and a hawk on fist.[1]

(5) It is a question which canonists have put, but never resolved, whether, supposing the chapter to refuse to install as dean some person collated by the bishop to the prebend attached to the deanery, he would have power to summon the chapter.

III.

In this brief, yet I hope sufficiently accurate outline of the mutual relations of the Bishop and Chapter, we have seen worked out, both in the original conception and by the operation of historical causes, the appliance of episcopal government to the changeful needs of the Churches of progressive nations.

Those relations are part of the universally diffused system of canon law which, wherever it is "not contrariant" to the statutes of the realm, is in force still. That law is full of evidence against the papal system which increasingly violates it; on the other hand the study of it would be corrective of much non-conformity, whose present prevalence and inherent weakness are largely due to its own and our ignorance of the accumulated experience, sense, and policy, which are condensed in that law. It was a measure of present convenience, but of short-sighted expediency which, under Henry VIII., suspended University degrees in canon law. The codification and rectification of it were admirably enterprised by Cranmer in the Reformatio Legum. If the Cathedral system had been continuously worked, one of its benefits would have been the perpetuation of a deeper study of it. The statutes of all particular cathedrals are local adaptations of such portions of the law as bear upon their efficiency. Hence their universal

portion of the service. Our Henry II. was a Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.

[1] Cheruel. Dict. des Inst., vol. i. p. 132.

resemblances and special differences. Such statute books are commonly practical manuals of that part of the law. Where they had been sanctioned, the chapters never ceased, as King Edward VI.'s Injunctions[2] state, to be bound to "observe all such as are not contrary, repugnant, or derogatory" to the Royal Injunctions; or, as the Reformatio Legum expresses it (A.D. 1552–1571), Fundatorum Statuta jam abhinc antea recepta retinebuntur, pura et integra, quamdiu verbo Dei non adversantur, et nostris constitutionibus, &c., non repugnant.[3] If none existed, the cathedral was not "without law;" it was minutely governed by Canon Law, and simply had nothing special to plead for any particular usages it might have admitted.

It would be vain to attempt in short space to estimate the various and complex effects of relations so powerful and on so vast a scale as came into existence when the Episcopal organization had universally in every country, in every city, surrounded itself with the Capitular system as its most intellectual and socially valuable instrument. But these beneficial uses seem at any rate to fall into three great groups.

(1) The Capitular system aimed at realizing *a continuous yet flexible tradition* in the conduct of that "monarchic" office which, in the absence of fixed principles, must, when great questions arise, be either very variable or very passive; but which is still more likely to energize over infinite detail. Originality in government, as in thought, requires perfection of science and of resources up to the very *point de départ.* A tradition snapped at every voidance of the see could no more (it was held) be strong and prompt of action, than we should expect cabinet ministries to work well, were not every minister fortified at his succession by the irremovable officials of his department. Policy may with safety be changed, but if a whole administration changes too there would be soon little administration save the most formal or the most venturesome.

(2) A council not only serves to the perpetuation of principle, it is also the *security of the individual.* Isolation is the vice and weakness of authority. "Episcopal authority," in its present

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[2] A.D. 1547. A copy of those sent to Lincoln Cathedral (with some curious Marian (?) notes) exists in MS. cviii. of Archbishop Parker's MSS. in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge.

[3] Reform. Legg. de Eccles., c. 7.

aspect, "seems too much to resemble an inverted pyramid trembling on its apex. In an ancient diocesan synod" (and may we not say with equal truth, *surrounded habitually by its chapter?*) "it reposed quietly on its base."[4] If numbers, if dignity, gravity, experience, are the strength of any social cause, how could they have been more effectively arrayed in the Church's cause than in conciliar union? We in our Reformed Church had all the elements of "counsel," we have still a central power supported by law; we paralyzed the latter by isolation and the former by dispersion.

(3) To give value to the support of a council, the *independence* of the councillors must be secured to the utmost limits of safety. And this the Cathedral system sought to provide, giving to the members of that council everything which in a settled country confers independence—real estate, to be held in common; freeholds, to be held by the members; a conspicuous rank, a glorious home, spiritual responsibilities, and the inspiration of common and beautiful worship. Upon his own estate it held each prebendary responsible for the education of the young, for the appointment of the pastor, for the condition of the labourer.

"What more could have been done for my vineyard?"

IV.

With the deterioration of all this nobleness—which has from time to time shown us by flashes what it might effect, and which, under adverse influences, has been instrumental in nurturing a remarkable proportion of our most pious, most learned, most laborious men, there is in England one depravation of public opinion beyond all other causes chargeable—the placing such large numbers (while they were numerous) of these appointments at the disposal of the successful politician,[5] the filling vacancies in ecclesiastical councils with family connections and party adherents. That they should not be all in

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[4] Bishop Wordsworth. Address on Diocesan Synods, 1871.

[5] "In the case of this church [Gloucester] there is scarcely an instance of a Lord Chancellor making an appointment except in favour of some relative, personal friend, or at the request of some influential personage."—Dean Law, in the Return to the House of Lords, printed 22nd May, 1871.

the hands of ecclesiastics, that the National Government should, while there is a National Church, claim the right of nominating to a proportion of them, no doubt tends to lessen church feuds and create larger interests; and the most Roman Catholic countries have even surpassed England in the claims on behalf of the Government. For instance, in Spain, the king appoints to all deaneries and, alternately with the bishops, to all canonries except two (filled up by the Pope) in each of the metropolitan churches and in twenty-two cathedrals.

To govern alone, or with the advice of private and irresponsible friends, or not to govern at all—to reside elsewhere—to connive at the chapter residing elsewhere, to withdraw from the obligation of consulting them, and to waive the right of visiting them—this was the natural course of Episcopal relations. Capitular wisdom was to convert dignity into ease, neglect into privilege, omissions into precedents, to render any qualification superfluous, any special gifts or habits needless, and so, by a vicious circle indeed, justify the method of appointment.

For about a hundred and fifty years such conditions were not usually thought unsatisfactory. But since our Church entered once more upon a period "in which the hearts of her children turned toward their fathers," neither Chapters nor Prelates are content to be isolated.

It will be serviceable, however, to show historically that the breaking up of the Cathedral system has really taken this form of the drawing apart of the chapter and the bishop; that the severance is due simply to modern usage and is against the constitution of the churches; and that for the reparation and invigoration of the system nothing more is wanting than to take up the thread, to use powers and faculties which exist as really as ever. Upon a historical basis alone could important relations be resumed. We shall see that, as in all history, decay is traceable even in the most vigorous age; that some high principles are perhaps extremely active even amid fatal decline; and that again the regeneration of societies may sometimes have begun before the worst habits seem to be shaken.

It would avail little to draw such illustrations from a mere cento of events in various places. To be truthful we must make what use we can of the real history of a single church, and hence our illustrations to be true must also be fragmentary.

I will venture to draw them from the history of the Church of Lincoln, so long the largest and most famous of Chapters.[6] They are mostly hitherto unpublished.

Of the members of the original chapter selected by the Founder Rèmi for his councillors—of their accomplishments and their religion—Henry of Huntingdon, who knew them personally, has given a fine graphic sketch[7] in his 'Epistle to Walter.' We find the canonical qualifications grouped in richest variety: The Ecclesiastic proper, "The Priest to the Temple," the Ascetic, the Theologian, the Three Schoolmen or Canonists, the great Preacher, the winning manners of the Administrator, the polished elegance of the Scholar.

Under Henry II. we find the King and the Pope endeavouring to intrude persons into canonries and Bishop Hugh successfully resisting them. We find doctors of the Sorbonne and of Italy anxious to be attached to so glorious a company *vel perexili titulo*, and declined by the bishop because, though their learning, piety, and morals are admired, they are not suited otherwise to the specialities of capitular work. On the other hand, he offers prebends to suitable persons on the condition of their coming at once into residence or devoting themselves to the discipline and preaching required of them. I do not know that any visitation of the cathedral is mentioned in the life of Hugh, but the functions of the canons were clear and effective. They are selected for their sagacity and high character, they are in closest association with

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[6] "Cunctis Ecclesiis gloriosius copiosiusque." Vita M. Hugonis, iii. 8.

[7] "The founder Remigius I never saw, but of the venerable clergy to whom first he gave places in his church I have seen every one. Ralph, the first Dean — a venerable priest. Reyner, first Treasurer, full of religion: had prepared a tomb against the day of his death, and oft sate by it singing of psalms, and praying long whiles, to use himself to his eternal home. Hugh, [Chancellor,] worthy all memory, the mainstay, and as it were the foundation of the church. Osbert, [Archdeacon of Bedford, afterward Chancellor,] a man wholly sweet and loveable. William, a young canon of great genius. Albin [my own tutor]. Albin's brothers, 'most honourable men, my dearest friends,—men of profoundest science, brightest purity, utter innocence, and yet by God's inscrutable judgment smit with leprosy—but death hath made them clean.' Nicolas, Archdeacon of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Hertford,—none more beautiful in person, in character beautiful no less, 'Stella Cleri,' so styled in his epitaph, a married canon, and Henry's father — Walter, prince of Orators. Gislebert, elegant in prose, in verse, in dress. With so many other most honoured names I may not tax your patience. Amabant quæ amamus; optabant quæ optamus; sperabant quæ speramus."

the bishop, he relies on their advice and employs them in administration.[8]

Shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century arose the great controversy between Grosseteste and the Chapter, which ended in the complete recovery of the principle of visitation. Grosseteste's Epistles give an almost complete account of the events; and in Mr. Luard's preface is an accurate representation and explanation of them, though he perhaps exceeds the candour of a biographer in conjecturing underhand proceedings of which there was no proof, and which are inconsistent with the character of his subject.

Grosseteste's predecessors had been strange prelates. Hugh of Wells, whom he succeeded, is described as *omnium virorum religiosorum inimicus*; and the precedent of visitation was supposed to be extinct at Lincoln, and indeed throughout England the bishops are described as *negligentes et pigritantes* in their office. Grosseteste in his first diocesan visitation removed and replaced eleven heads of religious houses, and then turned his attention to the cathedral. But upon his commencing a survey of the prebends, the vicars and chaplains received notice from the chapter to disobey. Sermons were preached against him in the nave, a licence obtained "*from the people*" to appeal to Rome, and when he arrived at the chapter-house on the day appointed for the visitation of the cathedral it was empty. He dreaded the *lites immortales* which would result from an appeal to Rome, but was willing to submit the cause to be decided by *jus divinum, canonicum*, and *commune*, to any impartial arbitration. This he owned was difficult to find; "for who would dare to offend such powerful bodies as all the chapters of England, which would make common cause with Lincoln?"[9] "His own chapter, no doubt, for such flagrant contempt merited suspension and excommunication,[10] and it was better even that *scandalum oriatur* than that *veritas moriatur*—still the excommunication of *talium tam vene-*

[8] "[In præbendis] viros sapientes et scientia præditos *lateri* suo sociare satagebat, quia absque virorum proborum adjutorio nec populo nec clero convenienter prodesse sufficeret. Horum conciliis fretus et comitatus auxiliis," &c. Vit. Hug. iii. 8.

[9] Grosseteste, Ep. 80.

[10] It would not have been competent for Grosseteste at once to excommunicate them, as above stated. He seems to contemplate an intervening process, however, since he says "suspenderem *et postea* excommunicarem."

rabilium tantorumque virorum would set the whole country against him." He refrained therefore from this, but prohibited the dean, precentor, and treasurer from entering the cathedral doors, and in this he was apparently obeyed.

He made every attempt to obtain an arbitration satisfactory to both parties; but would be content, he said, with no *momentanea et fantastica quietatio;* nothing but a "true peace" upon sound principles would enable either bishop or chapter to exercise their functions. The Chapter insisted on the case being carried to the Pope, and then the decision was given speedily and absolutely on the side of Grosseteste.[1]

Both *canon law* and *common law* were clear upon the subject, and if the decision had been given the other way it would have been in defiance of history and the universal practice of Europe. If *jus divinum* (which also they both appealed to) might be translated on such a subject, "common sense," it must have decided the same way. Grosseteste and his chapter understood it to mean most astonishing arguments from Scripture and Natural History. These are so two-edged that the historical and legal points were perhaps even to their minds more convincing; but there was something grand in the conviction that the laws which governed a chapter were an outgrowth of the laws of nature and of revelation, and could be investigated upon the principles of Physical and Moral Science.

The chapter pleaded the lapse of visiting as a *consuetudo* of their church. The bishop showed that an *omissio* or *negatio* could never become a *consuetudo.* They pleaded they had a *libertas.* He replied that inasmuch as it was not competent for any bishop to have renounced the duties of his successors, and no exemption granted by the Roman see could be produced—(such as exempted Cistercian abbeys from the episcopal jurisdiction to which Benedictine and Augustinian were subject)[2]—theirs was but a *phantasia libertatis.* They then produced a transparent forgery, still extant, declaring Lincoln to have been a royal peculiar, with an ultimate appeal to the king. Their

[1] A similar controversy on visitation arose between St. Charles Borromeo and his canons *De Scala*, was similarly referred to the pope, Pius V., and similarly decided in favour of the Archbishop.

[2] Some foreign cathedrals *procured* similar or partial "exemptions," although this correspondence does not allude to the fact—an absurdity which various Councils laboured to mitigate.

cause gained nothing by this. One of their arguments was that the Dean was their Visitor. Grosseteste replied that the frequentative word *Visitation* implies acts intermittent, resumed, and repeated—that the supervision of the resident dean was continuous—he was their *Visor*, if they pleased. They hoped to show that the bishop's jurisdiction over canons was confined to cases of appeal and of decanal neglect in the correction of offending canons. His demonstration of the impossibility of working such a system is very illustrative of their mutual relations. *E. g.* 1. It would follow that if any Canon offended against the Bishop, he could not be cited into the episcopal court, but must be prosecuted by the Bishop before an inferior judge. 2. That for offences committed by a Canon in parishes not within the chapter's jurisdiction he could not be punished at all. 3. That the rights of the Cathedral had often to be maintained by the Bishop against magnates with whom no Dean could cope. 4. That Canons might be guilty of offences requiring penalties which existed only in the episcopal armoury, deprivation, degradation, &c. 5. That charges might be brought against them which could be heard legally only in episcopal courts, and that supposing the *whole* chapter, *so called*, including the Dean and excluding the Bishop, should offend against the Bishop's rights, or have a cause against any one in his jurisdiction, then the Bishop could neither punish nor judge. Under the last head he protests against the practice of speaking of the Chapter as complete without the Bishop.[3]

However, the universal capitular system was now pronounced to be in force here. Monastic exemption was in no way applicable to the active "governing body" of bishop and canons, and, with one little ebullition of anger at the period fixed for visitation, they seem to have accepted the position with loyalty.

In the course of the next 190 years no less than six Lauda[4] are mentioned as given by the Bishops of Lincoln to the chapter

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[3] Grosseteste, Ep. 73. "Si *non connumerato* episcopo .... dicantur capitulum, et *sic nominato* capitulo accidat," &c.

[4] *Laudare* from the tenth century onward is of frequent use in the sense of *arbitrari* to arbitrate; as "convicta culpa quæ sit laudata per judicium parium suorum."—Laudum. 1. A decision by arbitrament—"Rex Angliæ dicto eorum et Laudo se submittet." 2. Consent, approval. 3. Statutes, "Lauda formare ac reformare." The instances are from Ducange. Cf. Quart. Rev. No. 259, p. 2291 n.

and becoming part of the cathedral statutes. Then William Alnwick succeeded to the see, and upon one of his visitations appears to have been appalled by the confused state of the statutes which were exhibited to him. The Chapter also presented the Dean to him in forty-two articles for various irregularities; some of these are serious, amounting to assumption of the whole capitular jurisdiction; others singular, as for instance, the great danger to which the ministers are exposed at night owing to his keeping the close gate unfastened; again he brings armed retainers into the chapter meetings; altogether they give a most interesting picture of cathedral life in the 15th century, and of its intense activity. The occasion was therefore taken for affecting a fundamental reform in all parts of the administration; the abuses and irregularities are described as of long standing, and as having grown up "maxime propter decanorum absentiam."

Owing to the customs and ordinances having grown up so irregularly they were full of "incertitude, obscurity, and contrariety, being contained in divers books, and on sheets arranged without order."

He therefore summoned the whole body of the chapter,[5] the dignitaries, and the officers, who attended in the chapter-house, some by *proxy*, and after a compromissio, or resignation into the

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[5] "Nos Willelmus vocatis de mandato nostro per Decanum et Capitulum, juxta Ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem loci, Canonicis et aliis dignitates et officia atque personatus in eadem obtinentibus universis de consuetudine hujusmodi evocandis; et 9° die mensis Junii sic vocatis viz., discretis viris et comparentibus, et in capitulo adunatis, præmissa et alias convocacionis prædictæ causas aperuimus super quibus communicatione et deliberatione præhabitis .... nobis et omnibus sic convocatis videbatur saluberrimum fore" ..... [Marginal note; "Canonici convocantur per Decanum et Capitulum et non Episcopum."]

Preamble to the Laudum, p. 114:— "Considerantes quod id quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari, et ne quis confratrum nostrorum dignitates personatus aut præbendas in ipsa Ecclesia nostra obtinentium in ea parte possit conqueri se contemptum, et aliis ex causis nos moventibus, ad certam diem in capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ eosdem omnes et singulos fecimus convocari, quibus dictis die et loco comparentibus, aliquibus, viz. personaliter, et nonnullis per eorum Procuratores comparentibus," &c.

Here it is assumed that the bishop summons as many or as few as he will. To summon all is an act of grace in some degree.

The precise use of terms in all cathedral statutes indicates the universal and early character of their institution. *Dignitates, personatus, officia*, are defined by De Bouix (p. 79) to be the three tituli beneficiales. *Dignitas* is præcedentia cum jurisdictione in foro exteriori. *Personatus*, præcedentia sine jurisdictione. *Officium*, administratio absque jurisdictione, et absque præcedentia.

hands of the Bishop of all existing rights, privileges, customs, and enactments, executed severally by the Dean on one part and the Chapter on the other (business must have been extraordinarily well managed) that prelate at the end of twelve months pronounced his laudum on the articles, and at the end of two more presented the cathedral with an entirely new code of statutes in five books, incorporating in a consistent form the ancient statutes and the more recent lauda of the bishops, and introducing a number of new regulations which had become necessary since. It is entitled "the Novum Registrum,"[6] and together with the laudum of the same prelate continues in force to the present day in all points in which it has not been overruled by new statutes of the realm.[7]

We will now briefly sketch the relation of the bishop to his church as it appears in these statutes of Lincoln.

"The bishop is not only a dignitas in his church, he is culmen dignitatum. Fifty-six canons constitute, together with their head, the body and chapter of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln. . . The head of the mystic body is the bishop. The chapter elect the dean. . . . The bishop is bound *compellere* and *arctare* the dean *ad hoc vel aliud*. . . The bells peal when the bishop attends church. . . . he gives all benedictions and receives all salutations (the dean in his absence only) . . . he supersedes any dignitary when he wishes to celebrate. . . Upon the obit-day of any bishop the tombs of all the bishops are lit with tapers.

"He visits the church, the dean, canons, and all persons connected with the establishment, the prebendal churches and congregations, *quoties et quando voluerit* . . . The perpetual vicars of the prebendal churches are immediately subject to the bishop. . . . If lawfully hindered he may depute a commissary, but such commissary must first be sworn a canon of the church, not necessarily a prebendary.

"No one may act upon his commission who is not a dignity of Lincoln, beyond an unmarried notary and clerk.

"Bishop Fleming had allowed two Canons to be deputed to represent the Chapter in the correction of such abuses

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[6] The preamble states, "Quæstionibus et negotiis indies occurrentibus antiqua non sufficiunt instituta."

[7] Compare p. 257, note 2.

as the bishop required the chapter to correct. This delegation of power is withdrawn. The chapter itself is to correct abuses.

"The laudum which had been given by Bishop William Gray is declared null and void, on the ground that the bishop had issued it upon his sole episcopal authority without summoning the absent parties, and without any previous compromissio on the part of the dean and chapter."

The next marked era in chapter life is the approach of the Reformation, A.D. 1520–1540.

The Bishop now resided chiefly in London, and on his principal manors. Though he visited the cathedral, and the prebends attached to it, yet his ordinations were apparently held altogether by his bishops suffragan, of whom he had three. Bishop Alnwick had attributed the chief part of the disorders which he found to the non-residence of the Deans, and now we find that the Canons are to such an extent ceasing to reside that many houses in the close are falling to ruin. They have not however deserted the cathedral for their cures; in these also Bishop Longland finds the greatest "misliving," and the tenor of his letter prefixed to this paper implies that the prebendal visitations of the dean and chapter have been either intermitted or ineffectual.

Their conciliar work has entirely ceased. Not only the religious excitements and the excessive worldliness of the age, but even right energy has in so stirring a time withdrawn men from a life now solely liturgical.

In 1547, King Edward VI. issues 23 injunctions to the cathedral, interesting both socially and liturgically, but bearing on our present purpose simply as requiring (Injunction 12) the strict observance of all the "statutes that be not contrary, repugnant, or derogatory to these Injunctions."[8] The Reformatio Legum (1552–1571) exhibits a thoroughly puzzled spirit as to *what* prebendaries are to do, qui certa sibi non habent dispertita munera; points out the duty of *doing something* "ecclesias *docendo*, concionando, solando the sick and poor, or in whatever legitimate and right ways Bishop and Dean

[8] MS. Injunctions. Abp. Parker's MSS. in C. C. C. Library at Cambridge, No. cviii., p. 265.

may prescribe." It almost eagerly allows them[9] five years' leave of absence to study in the Universities, requiring them meanwhile to write an annual account of their own progress to the Bishop and the Chapter.[10] The Residents are to attend all the sermons and three times a week theological lectures.

Thus completely had severance from the Bishop's work paralyzed the energies of the cathedral in all respects but one.

The Bishop's authority was however at present intact.

Before another century has passed the cathedral has seen a change indeed. Still its offices and places are untouched, with the exception of the dignity of Treasurer, which the Crown, in a spirit of practical reform, had abolished upon the confiscation of the treasure.[11]

To take illustrative circumstances at the distance of about a century, we may quote the enthronements of Bishop Neale in 1613, and Bishop Montaigne in 1617.

"The dean and chapter assigned and showed him (Bishop Neale's proxy) the bishop's stall in the quire *and his place in the chapter-house.*"

"The dean and chapter showing the said proxy (of Bishop Montaigne) the episcopal stall in the quire, *and the chief place in the chapter-house.*"

The chief place in the chapter-house has recently *not* been shown to the bishop. When did the assignment of that place cease, and by whose authority, and for what end?

These installations by proxy point to the fact that the bishops were non-resident. "Episcopus non longe ab Ecclesia hospitiolum habeat," ruled the 15th canon of the 4th Council of Carthage, in the presence of Augustine; and at their foundation the cathedrals had the palace invariably contiguous, but as Frances says, quite seriously, "hodie non refert an longe vel prope habitet Episcopus."[1]

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[9] The Quinquennium absentiæ was not a new invention however, but had been previously allowed to canons under 30 years of age. Gavanti Manuale Episcoporum, p. 85, § 15.

[10] Rationem vitæ et morum et progressionis in doctrina. Ref. Legg. De admittendis, &c., c. 16, 17.

[11] The cathedral suffered severely from the suppression of the monasteries. In a manuscript in Corpus Library, Cambridge (Abp. Parker's, No. 108, p. 223) is a List of "Pencions and other dutyes due unto the Deane and chapiter of the cathedrall churche of Lincoln whiche hathe not been payde and ar denyed since the dissolution of the abbeys and chantries."

[1] De Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, c. 29, a. 17.

The bishop's house at Lincoln had been laid in ruins by the Parliamentarians; but a century was still to pass before all interest of bishops in their cathedral ceased.

The ordo prædicatorum by which the prebendaries are still called up under fine to preach is an ordinance made by Bishop Sanderson.

Bishop Barlow (1675–1691) so far as residence was concerned, was "never in all his life at Lincoln;"[2] he was styled, from his house in Huntingdonshire, "Episcopus Buckdenensis."

Of his visitation by his vicar general in 1690 (when he was eighty years old) I am not aware that the articles have been hitherto printed. The commission runs "pro visitatione ecclesiæ cathedralis tam in capite quam in membris realiter et effectualiter," and has twenty-two articles "for the Cathedral Church of Lincoln to be enquired of in the triennial visitation."

We will only quote the more immediately interesting ones:

"Imprimis, whether doth every member of this church at his first admission swear to observe such statutes as have been hitherto used, as statutes, and not contrary to the laws of this realm of England." He proceeds to enquire as to the benefices which are held with canonries, &c., the observance of rules of residence, and whether the number of ministers is complete, and the "choir sufficiently furnished with skilfull organist and able singers, and dayly service there sung *according to the foundation of this church;*" whether "the sacraments (both) be administered *in due time* . . . and by *singing and note according to the statutes of this church?*"[3] As to the dress of the ministers. Whether the full number of sermons is preached yearly appointed by the statutes *and ordinaries* of the church; and whether there *are week-day lectures.* He requires further, statistics respecting canons, petite canons, officers, and their incomes and stipends, and the education of the choristers. Then come enquiries as to the "Masters of the Fabrick," their accounts and audit, and the revenue of the fabrick; as to the

[2] Willis' Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 71.

[3] The Novum Registrum contains very full directions on the mode and style of singing, which are no doubt alluded to here.

state of repair of the cathedral and its appendages and houses, whether good and sufficient *as required by the statute?* and as to the decency of the churchyard: whether, *contrary to the statutes*, there are any usurers, recusants, papists, disreputable or suspicious people in the precincts?

"Whether the capitular meetings are duly and orderly kept as by statute is required? and the muniments and evidences safely kept, and in such manner as is required by the statutes?

"Encroachments on the close, and thoroughfare through it or through the cathedral; walking about of visitors in service time, and begging in the church," do not escape. And it is asked "whether any postern doors of private persons open into the close."

We have also enquiries as to the efficiency of the cathedral school, and "*is not* the same school neglected or abused in any kind?"

Lastly, "by virtue of their oath of obedience," the bishop requires the presentment to him of any offence "contrary to the statutes and laudable customs of the said church."

Bishop Barlow's view—which certainly was likely to be no new one—of the obligation and operativeness of the statutes, as they were, is distinct enough.

In 1693 the bishop appears in the chapter-house as the legislative authority for the chapter—"Die Sabbati 10 Jun 1693 *inter horas 7am et 8vam ante meridiem* in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis B.M.V. Lincolnensis *coram* Rev^do^ in Xto Patre et Dno Dno Thoma [Tenison] . . . . Quo die Dnus Epus antedictus super informatione" that divers prebendaries, to the great prejudice and detriment of the church and their successors, have not entered (*non intraverint*) their leases, *decrevit* that the said prebendaries *movendos fore*[4] to register them, and *decrevit* the amount of the fees.

In 1706 Bishop Wake held his primary visitations, beginning with the cathedral on the 20th May in the chapter-house. Upon that occasion various orders were made, the execution of which was enquired into upon his second visitation in 1709. An interesting violation of the ancient rights of the chapter

[4] The unusually bad Latin is due apparently to Mr. Walker, a notary.

then occurred which was subsequently acknowledged and rectified. The bishop, being unable to visit in person, issued a commission to his vicar general, Dr. Newell, and to the dean, sub-dean, præcentor, and chancellor, to sit in the chapter-house, convoke all such prebendaries, &c., enquire, punish, and correct.

But the commission was withdrawn from Dr. Newell, as not being "de gremio, sive membrum ejusdem Ecclesiæ," according to the "special privilege, confirmed both by statutes and old and approved custom," that the bishop should not visit the chapter by any commissary not of its own body. This is the reason for the concession assigned by Bishop Wake, and it is based upon the statutes. But it was an error to suppose it a *special privilege* of this cathedral.[5] The quotations from the canonists Leurenius and Pignatelli show that it was the rule in all cathedrals, that the vicar general could in no way intervene etiam absente episcopo, or be admitted to a meeting of the chapter, unless there were some special right or custom, if he were not de gremio. The old commission in the Register book has the name and style of the vicar-general dotted underneath as an incorrectness, and the note of his withdrawal appears in the visitation of 1712.

I do not know whether it was on account of this mistake that, although the bishop had intended to perform his cathedral visitation by commissioners on the 30th May, 1709, he issued on 6th May a new commission, requiring them simply to meet on the 30th in the chapter-house, to call the prebendaries and all the officers and ministers, and adjourn the visitation till the 16th of June "at which time I purpose to be there myself in person."

The law, thus recognized as governing the cathedral and the bishop in his relation to it, is the statute of William Alnwick, and the case is the same down to the smallest detail—as for instance when "the dignities, archdeacons, præbendaries, vicars-choral, clerks, choristers, officers, and ministers of the said cathedral church are ordered to be summoned by affixing of their citations upon each stall prout in hac parte usitatum fuerit, &c."[6] The observance of the canons of 1604 is also enquired into as law.

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[5] De Bouix, § iv. c. vi.

[6] Monition of Bishop Wake; Register, p. 108.

The articles of 1709 are twenty-seven in number. They are fuller, better worded, and much more methodically arranged than those of Bishop Barlow, but of course verbally correspond with them in some instances.

It is further enquired "whether the statute concerning the [sermons] has been put in due execution according to the order made the last visitation with relation to that matter?" It seems to be assumed that the Sacraments and choral service now proceed in due order and with due attire; but there is a new question as to whether the rubrick is obeyed in the observance of feasts, vigils, fasts, days of abstinence, and other solemn days, and as to the sufficiency of books and ornaments. The education and "catechizing" of the choristers is more particularly asked about. Recusants and Papists are not enquired for. The better regulation of property is seen coming under consideration; it is asked whether the order made in the last visitation has been obeyed, as to the registering of their leases by the prebendaries, and the sending in of their Terrars; as well as one made with regard to the registration of wills by prebendaries, &c., who exercise jurisdiction, and have "liberty to prove" testaments. Another article requires the members to visit their peculiars, and see that the chancels and houses belonging to the same are duly repaired.

To these twenty-seven articles we have the answers of the dean and chapter, made with great fulness and particularity.[7] The limits of this Essay will not allow us to quote more than one or two of the most interesting. They give a full account of the personnel of the cathedral, and declare that none of the places had been simoniacally filled, that the residence is duly kept, and (4th Art.) "We who are residentiarys do generally preach not only our own courses enjoyn'd by the statutes of our church, but likewise upon all solemn occasions, &c., and that some others of the prebendarys do usually preach their own courses, or provide and pay for the supply of them, but others of them neither preach their courses themselves nor give notice to any of the church to provide for the supply thereof, nor take any care for the payment of those who preach for them; and in such cases their courses are usually supplied by the residentiarys,

[7] Bishop Wake's Register, fo. 119.

senior vicars, or some other neighbouring clergy. We desire to execute the late order, but find great difficulty how to go about it. However, we think the church doth not suffer by this, though we ourselves sometimes do."

They continue, that their meetings are orderly kept, and the muniments preserved, "such as were not imbezell'd in the great rebellion;" but that some few only of the prebendarys have given in their leases (but no Terrars) for registration; while, of those exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction the subdean, the prebendaries of Empingham, Heydour, and five others bring in the original wills, but all the others neglect the late order. Postern doors there have been "time out of mind." "Some idle and disaffected persons sometimes walk in the isles" during Divine service, but not unreproved. The dean and chapter do visit the peculiars belonging to the common estate of the church. The prebendaries must answer for themselves. To the rest of the questions they return satisfactory answers.

In 1712, the bishop issues a new commission for the visitation of the cathedral church; the prebendaries to be called on 24th May, and the meeting then adjourned to 7th July, "at which time . . I purpose to be there myself in person. . . ." Notice to be given on 24th May to those then absent "that *I shall not excuse their absence at that time*, except upon some just and canonical impediment then to be alleged and proved on their behalf, unless they shall before that time have signified to you their assent to, and *done what in them lies to fulfil and execute, the orders made at our last visitation*, and shall also give sufficient power to some other member of our said cathedrall church to consent and agree for them, and in their names, not *only to the orders already made, but moreover to such further rules and constitutions as shall then by common consent be agreed upon.*"[8]

They accordingly assembled, and, after "divers prorogations," we have the result of the meetings embodied in "Statutes and Orders made by the Right Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his visitation begun in the chapter-house of the cathedrall church, &c., with the

[8] Bishop Wake's Register, p. 172.

unanimous consent and approbation of the dean, dignitaries, and prebendaries."[9]

This too is in form precisely according to the canon law.

The statutes and orders then made are for the registration of leases, the collection of Terrars, the visitation of the peculiars by the dean, dignitaries, and prebendaries, "in order to their being the better acquainted with the state of the churches under their jurisdiction," and the registration of wills.

In 1715 Bishop Wake[10] once more visited the cathedral, and in 1718, Bishop Gibson.[1]

Up to the year 1718, we have found the cathedral at least a living body, recognizing the possibility of statutable changes in its constitution. We have found no exclusion of the Bishop from capitular affairs; on the contrary, we find him requiring the presence of the whole Great Chapter, initiating legislation, and that upon important matters of public business as well as upon the cathedral economy, and, with their consent, promulging statutes. In fact, the visitation preserved in all its forms the council of the bishop after the ancient pattern.

It was deeply to be lamented that it did not concern itself with wider questions and with spiritual works. Methodism was just rising when it ceased to meet.

It is possible that at the early date when we find that Hugh conceived it to be impossible for him to work his diocese without the aid of numerous efficient men in his chapter, there were no visitations at all; and it is possible that Grosseteste erred in trying rather to make the discipline of the chapter correct than their labours useful.

The councils gradually survived in the visitations, only the intervals grew longer between them, and their business became merely disciplinary and mundane. Still, the relation between the bishop and chapter was well understood in accordance with the canon law and the cathedral statutes. The Reformation had left it unaltered; the Restoration had seen it resumed.

But the life which no convulsions checked, lethargy overpowered.

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[9] Bishop Wake's Register, fo. 181.
[10] Ibid. fo. 255.
[1] Bishop Gibson's Register, fo. 53.

Pass little more than another century, and we find the relations altogether dormant.

In 1854 the Commission puts to all the English chapters the question, "What are the relations between the bishop and the chapter?"

Durham replies, "They are considered to be the relations of a body having certain duties to perform, and living under certain statutable rules and regulations, *to the authority appointed by the Crown*, to secure the performance of those duties and the observance of those rules and regulations."

The idea that they are "Fratres Episcopi," his "consilium," the "senate of their diocese"—that he is the "principalis *pars* capituli," and the culmen of their own dignities—that he and they possess the power of making and re-modelling statutes—all that gave worth to their institution and reality to their life was gone. He is a Crown officer, appointed to see that they do not break their law.

Hereford answers the same question tersely by one word, "Visitational;" having previously replied to "What are the powers of the 'visitor'?" by "He is *interpreter* of the *statutes*."

"What are the rights of the bishop with respect to the cathedral church?" asks the Commission.

Winchester says, "None, except as visitor."

Worcester, "Visitor only."

Gloucester, "The bishop is entitled to a seat in the cathedral church, and is visitor of the chapter."

As for his duty or right to feed his flock with the "Verbum Prædicationis," *Salisbury* replies, "no days are set apart for the bishop; whether this implies or negatives any claim of right we know not." But we must allow that the sources of their information were somewhat barred to this chapter, as they reply to another question, "There is no one here who can with accuracy read the most important records" in the registry. But that was near twenty years ago.

Again, as to the exercise of the one conceded function. "Have you any account of ancient visitations or of recent ones?" *Worcester* depones, "Yes, of ancient but of no modern visitations," and most follow in a similar sense. The whole conciliar life had in fact hybernated so long, torpid, forgetting

and forgotten, that, while in any treatise on capitular law the definition of a Chapter states the fact unquestionable and historic, and while every page is studded with such expressions as "Episcopi senatus," "cum assensu capituli," "absque consensu episcopi," "jus simultaneæ," "episcopus capitulum cogit," "canonicos sententiam rogat," "consilium sequi non tenetur," "absque consensu capituli Episcopus non potest," there is not in any single answer from all the deans and chapters of England in 1854 any indication that they regarded themselves as in origin, foundation, design, attributes, rights or powers, having even a theoretical connection with episcopal government or ecclesiastical counsel.[2]

What a blank century and a half lies between 1721, when Bishop Gibson (who stood face to face with Wesley and loved him well) first intermitted his capitular gathering—the last relic of the council—and 1871, when the chapter, taking their own place as senatus to the presiding bishop, have opened the doors of their house to the priests and deacons of the diocese in synod—(an assembly more primitive in character than the middle ages ever convoked there)—which in its turn evokes a representative body of clergy and laity, such as perhaps it belongs entirely to our own age of representative deliberations to create, but which certainly has a place of its own prepared for it in Church history!

Yet, as we have seen, the causes of dormancy are of no recent standing. The lethargic drop was first distilled from the misrule, the ostentation, the absenteeism, the courtiership, the Romanism of the later middle age. What we now require is something older, something newer than mediævalism.

The chief impediment to earlier restoration was stamped into our system by the terrible invention of Archbishop Laud (perpetuated since in various forms of enactments) requiring the canons "to depart straightway to their other benefices as soon as their term of residence expired." This was the last blow to conciliar service or usefulness; but though it riveted

[2] The same disappearance of the theory (and equally modern) is visible in France. De Bouix remarks that the old style of commencing episcopal mandates, &c., "De consilio venerabilium fratrum nostrorum canonicorum," which remained in use long after the Concordat of 1801, has quite recently (in 1852) been abandoned.

the chain of inertia it did not forge it, for the fact that the foreign chapters have been crippled in their powers of serving the Church and society exactly as our own have,—and feel it as acutely,—is by itself sufficient to shew (were it otherwise doubtful) that the causes of this disability are earlier than the Reformation.

They have not had, it is true, the hopeless bane of non-residence to fight against; with them the canons invariably reside nine months or more.[3] But they have had the worse hindrance of Papal interference, the corroding action of that central power which has been labouring for centuries to reduce the bishops to the condition of officials under itself, and to isolate them from every council or person capable of supporting their independence and their dignity.

V.

We have now done our best to investigate Cathedral principles, in that which is defined by legal writers to be their "essence," the relation of the Chapter to the Bishop. We have endeavoured to pursue so complicated a subject in the way which seemed likely to prove most fruitful and most intelligible, viz., first, by a general sketch of the original conception of those relations, and of the laws by which they worked; and secondly, by tracing the disappearance of those old relations through the history of one institution, which began as almost the grandest of them. This mode appeared to be more truthful in spirit than to generalize from mere specimens of the different epochs of many; but having arrived, in one, at the vanishing point of those relations, we ascertained that, at any rate, the *result* and *status quo* was the same in all at the same period, so that we may infer that causes not dissimilar have been at work elsewhere.

And we have arrived at the conclusion that, with other important functions as "accidental," the "essential" character of

[3] They usually forfeited dividends for absence even during any part of the other three months. Even now that the canonical stipends are paid by Government, since the seizure of the Church estates, the chapters (I believe) continue this system by an arrangement for fines among themselves.

the institution is *conciliar:* that, through the pressure of the See of Rome, through secular influences, indirectly through legislation not designed to produce this effect, and other causes, the bishops ceased to evoke capitular action; that still the forms of action lingered and possessed considerable vigour to a much later period, and that at the present time all the forms and all the powers are in being, ready to spring to life at the call of energetic tempers and comprehensive policies.

Is it well to re-animate them? This is a question which must be determined now or never.

Our church polity, the polity of the universal Church, has, for evil or for good, been altered by the virtual suppression of the great capitular system of the dioceses as to its principal or essential end.

Has the modification been beneficial? If so, the influence of (1) the chapter itself should, owing to the detachment, have been felt more strongly in some other directions: (2) the episcopal office should have become more effective through being untramelled.

But where are we to look for the *increased* beneficial influence of chapters? Is it not true that though Churchmen have no single κειμήλιον which they regard with the same reverent instinctive tenderness as their Cathedrals, they still feel the present languor of them to be the weakest point we offer to our detractors? With regard to *increased* efficiency in the episcopal office in default of a regular council, even some access of promptitude would have been poor compensation for the loss of deliberations, for the weakness of solitude,—and, have we gained the promptitude?

We may judge whether the present graceful ruin can be acquiesced in by a rebuilding age, by reflecting (1) whether, in our wish to make chapters efficient, we could consent to make them *powerful as they are?* Should we not feel that their present isolation and exclusiveness, if strengthened, would amount to something worse than Cistercian independence, more dangerous to themselves and to the institutions bound up with them; or (2) whilst no see in Europe was ever created without a chapter, who would now *propose to establish a bishopric anywhere in connection with a chapter,* according to our prevalent conception of chapters, viz., to transact internal business

created simply by their existence, to give the bishop a seat in church, and to appeal to him in their own controversies? What is the fact? The province of South Africa,—which is not wanting in ecclesiastical feeling,—has drawn up its "constitution and canons" for the ordering of its five dioceses. In fifty careful pages there is not a single allusion to the very existence of a chapter for any of the sees—no sense of its requirement. This is not due to any emolumentary or social requirements of chapters according to the true idea of them. The clergy of a town, even two or three, may constitute an episcopal chapter. Common worship, however desirable, is not "essential." The best canonists of France lament that "munia multa" at the present day interfere with it in some places. But the chapters are none the less chapters. It is to be regretted, therefore, that South Africa should not legislate for chapters; but who can wonder?

It may be confidently asked whether any single church improvement could be more effective, or more comprehensive, than the restoration of chapters to their primitive idea.

(*a*) Not for the sake of church services only and nave sermons. If that were all, a rector with two curates might organize perhaps a more splendid ceremonial and a more attractive cycle of preachers. Not merely for the conservation of the more glorious type of worship, and more soul-stirring edification.

(*β*) Nor yet solely for isolated works. Foreign Churches, after having destroyed the true action of the chapters, tried, with some success, to compensate it in this way.[4] With us there are most important works not done now at all, nowhere likely to be done, nowhere capable of being done, unless cathedrals undertake them. The training of the clergy in such scientific theology as the Universities must decline, in doctrine and in pastoral care and in church discipline; the diocesan inspection of religious education; the preparation of an order

[4] We may instance the institution, in obedience to the Council of Trent, of a Pœnitentiarius, or Confessor-General, of a Theologus, or Divinity Professor, and of a Seminary in every cathedral, and a Divinity School in many. Scholæ Theologicæ and Seminaria must be distinguished: the former ad integræ civitatis clerum destinantur; the latter ad unius diœcesis tantum clericalem juventutem.—Instt. Jur. Canon., vol. ii. p. 233. Pars ii. Lib. ii.

of Readers, one of our principal wants; the "guidance of the younger clergy in study;" arrangements for "conferences with a view to theological, practical, and devotional exercise and discipline;" "organization of diocesan church and school building societies;" organization of charitable societies in general; organization of preaching missions, &c. All these loud-voiced wants seem to appeal at once to the cathedrals as central institutions, competent, endowed, dignified: and no doubt many would be contented if one canon should undertake one, and another another of these, and become inspector, almoner, "theologus," and the like, for the diocese.

But indeed these individual works are at once necessary and subordinate.

As occupations we grant they ought now to take the place of the scattered parochial charges, the old prebendal livings, which, more than any other one cause, have prevented the redintegration and effectiveness of the corporate unities.

For these old anti-residential cures let there by all means be substituted, in obedience to our modern necessities, such offices as shall naturally bring the canons to the centre of the diocese; but let their *principal* activity be corporate, conciliar.

"But this demands"—yes! who knows not what it demands? —The co-operation—a *brotherly* co-operation—of the Bishop with his Chapter—the co-operation of the Chapter with their Bishop. Perhaps it requires the return of a bygone sentiment, that he should once more stand by what he still calls Nostra ecclesia cathedralis—"tanquam sponsus ad latus sponsæ." But is that to be despaired of?

May we not with all modesty think (and better be silent than presumptuous) that isolation is one great cause of episcopal difficulties at this time—difficulties with which no true Churchman can fail to sympathize, and which have never been greater since the Long Parliament. Would not episcopal authority weigh more with laymen were it well understood that it might be depended upon to speak out when the Church lacked counsel (for we cannot flatter ourselves, if we read the papers, that its frequent silences are accepted as prudence), and that, when it spoke, it was after deliberate consultation with well-known, experienced, and trusted elders? Take a single example. How is a modern charge received?—(charges, we

believe, date from just the time when the relations between Bishops and Chapters came finally to an end; Bishop Compton's was the first.)—It floats on the waves of the Church-world like any other paper; it is the scroll containing what even the Church of Rome would, at the most, call the 'probabilis opinio' of one doctor—grave and thoughtful, a theologian, perhaps, or somewhat of a statesman—but only one.

And what is the precise gain which is due to the modern solitariness of the bishop's action? Unity? There is no unity in human affairs without union. The theory of episcopal unity is nowhere so baldly stated as in the Ignatian Epistles. But by unity they do not mean *isolation*. What they dwell on is the bishop's harmonious action with his *Presbyterium*, the ἀξιόπλοκος στέφανος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, the συνέδριον Θεοῦ—that is, practically, the committee of the nearest gravest clergy.[5]

The primitive view of the strength of the episcopate was certainly not solitariness; but we, whether the causes are social, or whether it is due to some unconscious imitation, have been reproducing in our episcopate exactly that isolation which Rome has effected for her bishops, with the deliberate aim, in her case, of obliging them to turn for support to the Vatican.

But again, the increasing complications of modern life render conciliar action the more needful. It seems as if no one mind could weigh or do justice to them all. The representative character of our institutions has to be reflected in the regulation of any transaction. Every class, every *contour-line* in society, is so completely dominated by its own ideas that a representative man for each seems wanted to express its thoughts, and his expression of them must be heard on almost every subject. In the great eras of Church-councils life was complicated with myriad ideas. Classes, bloods, parties, officialities, philosophies, met in the Church, and without councils nothing could be done. Then came outwardly simpler eras, when feudalism, monarchies, imperialism, papacy, threw the thoughts, habits, associations of orders into parallel lines which could not inter-

[5] Is it not worth observing that, while they almost invariably speak of the διάκονοι as units in the plural, they with almost equal invariableness, speak of the πρεσβυτέριον as a union, not of πρεσβύτεροι, and especially in connection with the bishops?

osculate. Councils ceased. In church administration offices became isolated. In England a single dominant state-church dispensed at once with convocations, with synods, and with chapters. It is so no more. Theological opinions, Christian life and religious benevolence foam in a thousand currents; a πολυποίκιλος σοφία is again demanded. Unity can be gained only by combinations and associations, and it is proceeding before our eyes. All the διασποραί are re-assembling. Convocation has been learning to work for years. Synods are convened. Congresses and conferences have sprung up of themselves, and prepare the way for more regular forms. The Vatican herself has held an abnormal council, done an abnormal work, and provoked thunder from the other pole. It is modern life itself which is doing all this, and modern life suggests to the Bishops that they should not be slow to revive their Chapters.

To England it seems to be reserved—through her love of the truth—through her primitive organization—through her world-wide opportunities—to be present, by the grace of God, with the Church of the whole earth. Must we not hope that her episcopacy will present to the world no anomalous spectacle and no unreal image—neither a church-ruler without a council nor a council of shadows?

For it is not to fetter action but to develop thought that a council sits. The bishop's power is, according to the old definitions (as we saw), a true *monarchia*, and he alone has legislative power. The council does not direct—it expresses. It expresses its own thought, and its thought about the thought of the world. It fulfils, in a purer way and concerning the higher class of subjects, the function which the press fulfils in an unrefined way for the world. Its influence is confined to expressing thoughts—and that influence has no limit. It has no legislative right. It cannot dictate—it formulates. This is exactly the definition of the function of a chapter for its bishop. "He should seek its consilium, but does not require its consensus." He is held *rogare, non sequi.*

And now to close. No institution was ever so unfairly tried. No institution is so unfairly judged. That in our Cathedral bodies have ever flourished our greatest Churchmen is most certain. Trammelled and laden as they have been, they are reproached for moving slowly. The wonder is that of each

form which the modern revival of Church-life has taken—in Church councils, in systematic and in powerful preaching, in educating clergy, in united worship, in grandeur of service, in historic restoration—it is still in this or that Cathedral that, with all shortcomings, we find the greatest example. Doubtless their capabilities are as far beyond their performance as freedom is different from their present estate. But if Churchmen are anxious for their liberation, chapters are more anxious. "Who is offended, and they burn not?"

If it be desirable to resume the old relations we may have learnt, there need be no jar in the resumption. The golden chain is not broken—simply unclasped. The only step needed *in foro exteriori* is that which is suggested by many other considerations—to extend to Canons the law which already requires Deans to reside nine months,[6] holding no other benefices,—or, if there exist any modern restriction upon the Chapter's and Visitor's ancient, universal, statutable power of statute-making, to procure the suspension of that restriction, and demand new codes within a fixed time.

The rest, so far as the form is concerned, is matter of internal organization. In place of the benefices, central diocesan offices; the staff extended by the restoration of suppressed prebends and canonries, as the existing law directs; experimentally, by the guarantee of stipends for a term of years. The Church's gratitude has already been earned by steps taken by some of the bishops, by the earnest advances of some chapters, by the able and devout labours of many members of chapters, towards these ends, and so far a new spirit may be breathed into the life and work of the individual canon.

But the corporate life of the whole is something greater than the aggregate activity of its members. And to bid this live rests with our Church-Fathers only.

It is for them—if they so will it—to take and make occasions

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[6] This residence of nine months was the universal and immemorial rule of chapters according to the canonists. They hold that no Cathedral Statutes, no customs, no licence from the Bishop or from the Chapter can extend the vacation of three months, except for Professors in the University, or for the quinquennial study, above mentioned. But the "inconveniences" arising even from this exemption were held to be such that Bellarmin warns those who avail themselves of it that unless their application is most real the exemption is only good in foro fori and not in foro poli.

for recognizing in their Chapters, not merely valued friends, but the greatest and ancientest of their own institutions.

Held, as it was, through many ages of practical work, an all but essential auxiliar of their high order and office—misunderstood for a while and misused, yet in substance marvellously preserved to us—the discerning eye and delicate hand may yet again revert to its traces among the elements of modern life as the symmetric ground plan of new Church energy and order.

E. W. Benson.

ESSAY XI.

CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS.

By Canon DURHAM.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The origin and early history of Cathedral Schools, and the gradual development of the system before the time of the Reformation.

The establishment of schools as integral parts of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation.

The objects which the founders had in view.

Defects in the manner in which these objects were ordered to be carried out, and consequent partial failure.

Gradual deterioration of most of the schools from the period of the Reformation down to comparatively recent times.

Cathedral legislation, and its effect upon the schools, direct and indirect.

The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and the manner in which Cathedral schools are specially affected by it. Consideration of some of the sections.

Points of difference between Cathedral schools and other schools of the same class.

Dangers and difficulties affecting Cathedral schools at the present day, and how they may be met.

Hopes for the future.

Conclusion.

CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS.

"To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study."—*Bacon.*

THE Work of Education appears to have been in very early times assigned by common consent to the Church. To this work she was perhaps in the first instance impelled by the necessity of training her own clergy for their duties; and the monopoly of learning, which ecclesiastics for some centuries enjoyed, must as a natural consequence have caused all who sought instruction to apply to them for it. Mosheim* tells us that "Charlemagne, whose political talents were embellished by a considerable degree of learning, and an ardent zeal for the culture of the sciences, endeavoured to dispel the profound ignorance that reigned in his dominions . . . In the prosecution of this noble design, the greatest part of the Bishops erected, by the express order of the Emperor, Cathedral Schools, so called from their lying contiguous to the principal church in each Diocese, in which the youth which were set apart for the service of Christ, received a learned and religious education. Those also of the Abbots who had any zeal for the cause of Christianity opened schools in their Monasteries, in which the more learned of the fraternity instructed such as were designed for the Sacerdotal order, in the Latin language, and other branches of learning suitable to their future destination."

Excellent as the intentions of the Emperor, the Bishops, and the Abbots, may have been, we cannot be surprised to hear that their schools met with little success, and produced little effect upon the world outside the cloisters. Starting upon the funda-

* Eccl. Hist., Book III. Part II. chap. i.

mentally wrong principle of offering to the people a thing which they did not wish for and were not prepared to appreciate, the pedants of those days, with their "trivium" and their "quadrivium," were not likely to make much impression upon the ignorance of a half-civilized nation. They succeeded in training up others like themselves to be the ecclesiastics and teachers of the next generation, and to this extent they did a good work, inasmuch as they kept the lamp of literature burning, though they did not succeed in diffusing its light among the people.

This is the unpromising aspect under which Cathedral Schools are first presented to our notice. We see that they more resembled Theological Training Colleges than Grammar Schools, though this was perhaps rather the result of circumstances than of the intentions of the founders. In a semi-barbarous age the demand for instruction in grammar, rhetoric, and logic, must have been very small, except among those who were in course of training for the service of the Church.

We have no distinct account of the origin of Cathedral Schools in England. The example of Charlemagne and his Bishops appears to have been followed in our Cathedrals and Monasteries, but in general at a considerable interval of time; and, as a natural consequence of this later date, the Grammar School character is in the English schools more distinctly marked; the ecclesiastical and religious character still remaining, however, in conjunction with it.

The earliest Cathedral School in England of whose date we have any certain knowledge, is that at Carlisle, which is indeed said to have been originally founded by St. Cuthbert in the seventh century; its history however from that date is not continuous, Carlisle and the surrounding country having been utterly devastated by the Danes in the ninth century. The historical foundation of the School, in a form not very different from that which it now presents, is due to William Rufus, who established in the year 1092 a Monastery of Augustine monks at Carlisle, and, as a part of the same foundation, a School, in which one of the monks presided. We have no record of the precise nature of the instruction given in the School during the period of its connection with the Monastery; it was doubtless suited to the requirements of the times and of the

place; but we do hear of the Master under the title of "Rector Scholarum Karlioli," and of the endowments of his office, which in the thirteenth century appear to have been considerable. When the Monastery was suppressed by Henry VIII., and the Cathedral establishment of Carlisle founded in its stead, the school, which is in King Henry's statutes spoken of under the term "schola nostra," was incorporated with the new foundation, so as to become an integral part of it; and from that time the school has existed as a Cathedral School in the proper sense of the term, being governed by, and supported out of the revenues of, the Dean and Chapter, and being taught by a member of the foundation, who is termed in the statutes "informator puerorum," and is ordered to teach "all boys whatsoever who flock together to our school for the sake of learning grammar."

This brief sketch of the early history of one Cathedral School has been given, not because it possesses any special features of interest, but rather because it does *not* in a distinctive sense possess any such, it being a fair example of a class. Mutatis mutandis, the same, or a very similar story, might be told of the origin of the schools attached to several of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation. Some of them have an Usher or Second Master on the foundation, and most have a certain number of King's Scholars or free boys, who are in some instances ordered to be maintained as well as educated out of the cathedral funds. It appears in some cases to have been the intention of the founder that the Chorister boys of the cathedral should have a free education in the Grammar School. Upon this point the late Dean of Ely (now Bishop of Carlisle) says, in his evidence before the Schools Inquiry Commissioners,* "The chapter did at one time, before I was Dean of Ely, educate the Choristers in the Grammar School, but it was found that it was practically extremely inconvenient to do so. It is necessary in a Choristers' school to make music the first thing, and to make all the arrangements bend to that; and it is almost impossible to carry on an efficient school for choristers conjointly with an efficient school for general purposes, and therefore the Dean and Chapter established an entirely new school for the choristers. We have therefore now two schools;

* Report, Vol. v. p. 852.

they are on opposite sides of the cathedral . . . If a boy, on his voice breaking so that he can no longer remain in the school, comes up to a certain standard of qualification, and if there be a vacancy, we put him at once on the foundation of the grammar school. We give him the preference because we conceive that the choristers have a sort of statutable right to education in the grammar school." In most of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation a similar arrangement exists, either by statute or by order of the Dean and Chapter; and for the same manifest reasons.

Turning to the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation, we find much greater variety in the constitution and condition of the Cathedral Schools. At York the school property forms a separate trust, not incorporated with the cathedral funds, but of which the Dean and Chapter are trustees: the school is therefore not in the strict sense of the term a Cathedral School. At Lincoln the Cathedral School was, three centuries since, united with the city Grammar School, and the united foundation school is managed by the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and Corporation jointly. At Chichester the mastership is attached to one of the prebendal stalls. At Salisbury the school is by foundation a Choristers' School, not a public grammar school; while some cathedrals do not possess a school at all.

The greater number of the Cathedral Schools, including nearly all the good ones, may be said to have started on their career under something like their present circumstances at the date of the Reformation. In the chronological table appended to the Report* of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, we find the year 1541 assigned as the date of the foundation of those at Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Peterborough, Rochester, and Worcester. Some of these schools were unquestionably in existence, in some form or other, long before the above mentioned date, which should rather be described as the period at which they were incorporated with the newly formed Cathedral establishments. Strype† gives the following account of the introduction of the

* Vol. i., Appendix IV.
† Memorials of Cranmer, Vol. i. p. 127, Oxf. ed.

new system at Canterbury. "This year the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, viz. Prebendaries or Canons, Petty Canons, Choristers, and Scholars . . . . and, nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons as should serve for the furniture of the said cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass that when they should elect the children of the grammar school, there were of the Commissioners more than one or two who would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other husbandman's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort. So that they wished none else to be put to school but only gentlemen's children." To which we are told that Archbishop Cranmer replied, "Poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature; and also commonly more apt to apply their study than is the gentleman's son, delicately educated. . . . Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt, enter his room." We see then that it was not intended that these schools should be limited to boys of any one social class, but that the principle of open competition and selection by merit was unreservedly recognised. The value of a King's Scholarship was also evidently sufficient, combined with maintenance at the common table, to defray the whole of a poor boy's expenses; for had it not been so, the question of admitting such boys could not have arisen; the boys would not have sought admission.

All the Cathedral Schools were founded as distinctively classical schools; but it would be wrong to argue from this circumstance that they ought all to be such at the present day. They were appointed to teach the only kind of knowledge which was at that time considered worth teaching or worth learning—the only one which would tend to the advancement of the boys in life; and it would be putting a very narrow interpretation upon the directions of the founders to suppose that they would have objected to any alteration which would increase the usefulness of the schools to the very boys whom they wished to benefit. It is also obvious that, except so far as the King's Scholars were concerned, Cathedral Schools were originally day schools, intended for the benefit of the cathedral city and neighbourhood: but

here, again, the circumstances of some of these schools may fairly justify a departure from the original intention so far as to admit of the reception of boarders in places where the supply of day scholars would not be sufficient to constitute a good school: and even in the larger cathedral cities no objection need be made to a certain number of boarders, provided they are not allowed to predominate, so as to change the character of the school, or make it less useful to the day scholars. Mr. Elton, Assistant Commissioner to the Schools Inquiry Commission, speaking of one of the Cathedral Schools, observes:*— "It is found by experience that the usefulness of a grammar school depends on the number of the day boys, and in general decreases as the class of boarders becomes important and predominant." There are certain matters of detail, such as the hours of work, the length of the vacations, and the subjects taught, with reference to which the interests of the boarders and those of the day scholars are not identical—and it is clearly better for the day scholars when these points are regulated with reference to them and not to the boarders.

A perusal of the Statutes of the Cathedrals will make it abundantly clear that the schools were established to fulfil one of the main objects for which the cathedrals were founded, and that they ought not to be regarded as mere excrescences or additions to them. A Cathedral School stands in a very different relation to the Dean and Chapter from that in which a Borough School stands to the Mayor and Corporation. The cathedral body are as much bound to maintain proper teaching in their school as to maintain proper services in their cathedral; and the suggestion of removing the school from the management of the Dean and Chapter, ought to have been as monstrous as if it had been proposed to deprive them of the control of the cathedral services. How it happens that the question has been forced on our attention we shall see presently.

The object of this Essay, however, is not to give a complete history of these schools, but to discuss their position with reference to recent and probable future legislation; and in pursuance of this object just such a sketch of their origin and early history has been here given as may suffice to make their present

* Report of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, Vol. xix. p. 178.

condition and circumstances intelligible to those who have not hitherto turned their attention to the subject. A very few words more will suffice to bring the history down to our own times.

Starting from the period of the completion of the Reformation, we find the schools of more importance relatively to the cathedral foundations than they have been since. There are instances in which the stipend of the master exceeded that of a Canon—and in general the amount was considerable—according to the value of money at that date. But the fault of the arrangement in the case of the Masters and King's Scholars, as well as in that of all the other non-capitular members of the cathedral bodies, was that fixed stipends were assigned to them instead of fixed proportions of the whole divisible revenue; and consequently, in process of time, as money deteriorated in value, and the rents of the cathedral estates rose nominally higher, the position of all the non-capitulars by degrees declined relatively to that of the dean and canons. The discontinuance of the Common Table was also a serious loss to the schools. This institution was no doubt inconvenient, and not suited to the changed circumstances of the times; but it is quite clear that at its abolition the Deans and Chapters were bound to assign an equivalent money payment instead, and to increase the same from time to time as the value of money decreased, so that those who were by statute entitled to this privilege should receive its actual equivalent. This was not done, and the masters and scholars were thus for many years clearly defrauded of their due by the Deans and Chapters. Whether, after the commutation of the cathedral estates, the claim must be considered to hold good against the Deans and Chapters or against the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is another question. A great wrong was clearly done in those cases in which the commutation took place without a proper adjustment of the matter.

The great diminution in value of the masters' stipends led to two consequences, both of which produced important effects upon the schools. In the first place, the Master, being insufficiently paid, was often allowed to eke out his stipend by holding some other office or preferment in conjunction with his Mastership: he was, to the great detriment of the school, appointed to a Minor Canonry, or a town Incumbency, or even to both; and permitted thus to be a pluralist, on a small scale, indeed, as

regards emolument, but on so large a scale as regards the duties involved that a neglect of the school was the inevitable result. In the second place, the master was for the same reason allowed, or obliged, to take fees from the boys, instead of giving the free education, apparently contemplated in the statutes, to all comers. This is not, however, a thing to be deprecated. If there is any point upon which all persons who have had experience in such matters are agreed, it is that indiscriminate gratuitous education is as useless in its immediate, and as mischievous in its ultimate, results as any other kind of indiscriminate almsgiving. Nor are the reasons for this far to seek: persons do not in general value that which costs them nothing. There is as much difference between a scholarship given as a reward for proved ability or industry, and free education given to all, whether deserving or not, as there is between wages for work done and alms indiscriminately dispensed. The one produces earnest hard-working students, the other mere charity boys. In this respect, then, the scantiness of the master's stipend was not an unmixed evil; to some extent it partook of the nature of a wholesome stimulus; the only thing to be said is that the tonic was sometimes administered in too strong a dose, especially where the master was required to educate gratuitously the King's Scholars, or Choristers, or both.

But in some cases the payments to the King's Scholars were for many years continued at the statutable amount, long after that amount had ceased to represent more than an ironical crumb of largess; and this circumstance, combined with the discontinuance of the Common Table, left the scholarships utterly useless as incentives to industry. Hence it is that the cathedral schools have not always maintained their proper position, either with reference to the cathedral foundations, of which they form a part, or with reference to the endowed schools of the country, of which they form an important and, in some respects, peculiar class. Of late years, however, many Deans and Chapters have shown a laudable desire to restore their schools to a thorough state of efficiency, and have, with judicious liberality, raised the payments both to masters and scholars to such an amount as fairly represents the intentions of the founders; and the consequence is that cathedral schools on the average are now in a much better position, not only absolutely, but relatively to

other endowed schools of the same class, than they were fifty years ago.

Much, however, remains yet to be done. The wrongs and neglect of centuries, even those which have been remedied, have left their mark upon many of these schools; and it will take time, and liberal and good management, to efface the remembrance of parsimonious governors and negligent masters. A school which has been newly restored is to its teachers and pupils like a new institution; it lacks that indescribable influence over the minds of its members which is, in old seats of learning, conferred by the thought that they are the successors of generations of eminent men whose boyhood was passed among the same scenes; or, to express nearly the same thing in fewer words, it wants prestige; and it wants also the support and regard of those who were its pupils in former days, but are now filling their various positions in life, and who might be expected to place their sons there out of affection for the place where their own boyhood was spent. Two or three of the cathedral schools possess this prestige, and derive great advantage from it; but these are cases in which the Deans and Chapters have for many years treated their schools with exceptional liberality; and the result to such schools as those at Canterbury or Durham shows what might have been done, but was not done, in many other places.

The Cathedral Schools have been affected by some acts of the legislature in a manner which shows that the last generation did not think schools and schoolmasters worthy of much notice. Cathedral Commissioners, indeed, made some suggestions and recommendations, but Cathedral Acts did little more than stereotype the unsatisfactory condition in which many of the schools had for centuries dragged on their unprofitable existence. It was not until some thirty years ago that the hand of the reformer was first laid upon our cathedral establishments. The remedy, which had been too long delayed, was applied with, in some respects, undue severity; and the treatment was of the roughest description of surgery. The Canons were in many cases reduced in number—their stipends, as well as those of the Deans, were reduced in value; the Minor Canons were reduced in number—to reduce their stipends was, indeed, impossible, but they were fixed at a minimum, too likely, in such a case, to be

the maximum also, of 150*l.* a year; while the unlucky Schools and Schoolmasters were left out in the cold, dependent upon the liberality of Deans and Chapters, whose estates had been taken away. The injustice which had been done to the Cathedral Schools was thus perpetuated. Deans and Canons might fairly consider that the incomes assigned to them under the new arrangement were for their own use, and that the duty of doing justice to the schools, as well as to the rest of the non-capitular part of the foundation, had passed from them to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and the Act of 1866 clearly shows that this opinion was shared by the Legislature. The Commissioners, however, would not acknowledge the liability; the popular cry a few years ago was for the augmentation of small Benefices—a most laudable object if only justice had been done first, but for justice the non-capitulars pleaded in vain—those in power were resolved to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the parochial clergy.

The Commissioners could not even see their way to avail themselves of a permissive clause in the Act of 1866, though they issued a circular letter dated 17th May, 1867, to the Cathedral Schoolmasters, quoting section 18 of the Act, which empowered them, in cases where they were in receipt of any income arising from Cathedral estates, to make provision for securing adequate sums of money for the maintenance of any existing college or school in connection with the cathedral; and asking for precise information as to the present endowments of the schools. Replies were of course sent in, and after nearly two years' consideration, the Commissioners announced their decision in another circular letter dated 17th March, 1869, in which they say:—"The Commissioners find that this section, which affects materially the common fund of which they are trustees, and raises important questions with reference to the past and future disposal of cathedral revenues, does not contain a sufficient direction for the matter of which it treats; that it does not empower the Commissioners to determine what the future establishment of a cathedral ought to be; or contain anything to show whether, in estimating the 'income' to which it refers, the large amounts already appropriated in the augmentation of benefices in pursuance of previous statutes, and the other permanent charges subject to which the Commissioners hold capitular estates, are

or are not to be reckoned as deductions from the gross income; questions which must be settled before it can be known to which cathedrals the statute applies. The Commissioners accordingly consider that it is not possible to take any action under the provisions of the statute." Of course remonstrances were sent in, which, equally of course, were consigned to the waste-paper basket.

This little episode, of expectations raised and hopes disappointed, brings the history of Cathedral Schools down to the period of the passing of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

It will be observed that Cathedral Schools are liable to be affected by acts of the Legislature in two distinct characters: first, as portions of the Cathedral Foundations they come under the operation of any Act which legislates for the cathedrals; and secondly, they fall under the hands of the Endowed Schools Commissioners in their character of Grammar Schools, though the Act of 1869 grants them a few privileges and exemptions, to be considered shortly.

With regard to the former class of legislation, it may indeed be said that in one sense the schools and schoolmasters were not in any great degree affected by it, for they were almost ignored; but the important changes made in the numbers and wealth of the governing bodies could not fail to exercise a powerful reflex effect upon the schools. And if legislation should at any time be carried further in the same direction—if the number of Canons should be reduced to two for each Cathedral, as some reformers have proposed—the time will then obviously have arrived for considering the question how the governing body of the school may best be enlarged or re-constituted. A Dean and two Canons might indeed suffice for the discharge of many of the duties which are required of the capitular body, but they may not happen to be men who have much knowledge of educational matters; they are in general appointed for other reasons, and other qualifications are required in them; and three is too small a number for the law of averages to furnish any guarantee. No one, in drawing up a scheme for the management of a Grammar School, would place the government in the hands of so small a body of men, and for good and obvious reasons. Of course a dean and two canons would in most cases be the best three men who could be chosen—they

are scholars and gentlemen, and occupy a high position; but the smallness of the number leaves no margin in the case of age or infirmity or occasional absence. This difficulty might indeed be to some extent obviated by increasing the powers of the Head Master, so as to render the school to a great degree independent of its nominal governors; but this would be contrary to the whole spirit of recent educational legislation, the tendency of which has uniformly been to depress the masters into mere teaching drudges, and to place the whole managing power in the hands of the governors or trustees. Accepting this tendency without discussing its wisdom, we see that the only suggestion likely to meet with public approval is that the numbers of the governing body should be in such a case increased by the addition of other suitable persons. This is indeed an acknowledgment that the cathedral body will no longer be competent to fulfil one of the important duties for which it was founded, a consideration which perhaps has not received due attention at the hands of those who advocate a further reduction in the numbers of the Canons.

But the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 affects the Cathedral Schools in a more direct manner. In it the Endowed Schools Commissioners are authorized to frame schemes for the management of Cathedral Schools as well as other Grammar Schools: but the former are exempted from, or specially affected by, certain provisions of the Act, and these, whether absolute or permissive, need to be carefully considered.

Section 14 provides that "Nothing in this Act shall authorize the making of any scheme interfering with the constitution of the governing body of any school wholly or partly maintained out of the endowment of any cathedral or collegiate church, or forming part of the foundation of any cathedral or collegiate church, unless the dean and chapter of such church assent to the scheme."

While a new Cathedral Act is looming, or supposed to be looming, in the distance, and it is impossible to say what radical changes may thereby be made in the constitution of the capitular body, we can hardly form an opinion as to the advisability of claiming the exemption here allowed. Probably some Deans and Chapters will decide one way and some the other. Should future legislation reduce the number of the Canons, it seems evi-

dent, as has been already explained, that the exemption should not be claimed; but that the Deans and Chapters should at once surrender the exclusive management of their schools, and be satisfied to retain two or three seats on a board constructed on a wider basis. On the other hand, if cathedral reform should take a different direction, if the Prebendaries or Honorary Canons should be in any way incorporated with the Chapters so as to increase the number of capitular members, a measure which has been advocated in some quarters, there seems no reason why any extraneous persons need be sought to govern the schools, as there would be a large body of educated men on whom the duty would naturally devolve. It must be regarded as a very unfortunate circumstance that the constitution of the Cathedral Schools should have to be settled, while the future condition of the cathedral establishments is still a matter of uncertainty.

Section 15 makes provision for what is commonly called a "conscience clause," having reference to day scholars only, and enacts that such a clause shall be inserted in every scheme by the Commissioners; no exception is here made in favour of cathedral schools, in spite of their essentially Church character. This cannot be held as other than an infringement of the intentions of the founders; but as most, if not all, of the schools are already administered on liberal principles, no practical difference will be made by the clause.

Section 16 is a similar enactment, having reference to boarders, and requiring that, in every scheme for a boarding school, provision shall be made for the admission of boarders subject to the conscience clause. Should the persons in charge of the boarding houses object to admit such boys, the governors are to arrange for their reception in such a manner that they may attend the school in the character of day scholars, and so obtain the exemption to be provided in accordance with the preceding section. From the operation of this section the deans and chapters are enabled by section 19 to claim exemption for their schools, possibly because Cathedral Schools are not primarily, or by the terms of their foundation, boarding schools, except so far as the King's Scholars are concerned; but the exemption does not seem worth claiming after the enforced concession of the principle in section 15.

Section 17 provides that persons are not to be disqualified

from being members of the governing body of any school on account of their religious opinions; and here again the Cathedral Schools may claim exemption. While the Dean and Chapter are the governors it is evident that the question could not arise, and hence it is fair to conclude that the framers of the Act contemplated the possibility of the enlargement or reconstitution of the governing body in some way so as to include other persons besides the Dean and Canons; and the permission granted amounts to the authorizing of a clause in the scheme of management which shall provide that such persons shall be members of the Church of England. A far-sighted policy would not accept a restriction of this kind; the Deans and Chapters have power, under section 14, to refuse all interference with their rights as the exclusive governors of their schools, and, if they do not adopt this course, they would act wisely in not asking for a religious restriction upon the choice of their new colleagues.

Similarly Cathedral Schools may claim exemption from the operation of section 18, which provides that masters shall not be required to be in Holy Orders. As this section simply removes a restriction in cases where it exists, exemption from it can scarcely be counted as a privilege. If deans and chapters retain the government of their schools, they may as well have the right to please themselves, by electing a clergyman or a layman as they think best; and if not, the fewer of such restrictions the better. The exemption therefore does not seem worth claiming.

Section 20 enacts that in every scheme the Commissioners may provide for the transfer to Her Majesty of the jurisdiction of the Visitor, except in the case of Cathedral Schools. It is curious that the exemption here is not permissive, but absolute. The jurisdiction possessed in most cases by the Bishop, or Ordinary, as Visitor of a Cathedral School, cannot be taken from him by any scheme of the Commissioners, even with his consent, the Commissioners not being empowered under the Act to deal with the matter.

Section 27 treats of the claims of the Cathedral Schools against the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in respect of any capitular property which may have been transferred to them, and is the most important feature of the Act so far as these schools in

particular are concerned. The clause is indeed only permissive: it authorizes the Endowed Schools Commissioners to submit to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners proposals for meeting, out of the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the claims of any Cathedral School to an increased provision in respect of any estates which may have been transferred to them; and it further authorises the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to assent to such proposals, and to make such provision. We have seen that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did not find themselves at liberty to act upon a permissive clause which gave them a similar power a few years ago; but in the present case the instructions are more definite, and they may be backed by the persuasive powers of another Commission. There is therefore reason to hope that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners may be encouraged to find a more favourable answer to the applications to be made to them under this section than they did on the former occasion.

The Cathedral Schools differ from each other in so many important particulars that it is difficult to speak of them as a class without doing injustice to some of them on one point or another. Premising, however, that all descriptions are meant to apply generally and not of necessity to every school, we may say that Cathedral Schools, as a class, differ from other Grammar Schools in certain characteristic respects, which deserve careful consideration before we can arrive at any conclusion as to the measures of reform which may be thought desirable.

In the subjects ordered to be taught there is not much difference between Cathedral Schools and others of the same date: "grammar" is, in the opinion of the founders, the one panacea for the ignorance of the nation; and this has been in both kinds of schools supplemented by other branches of learning in accordance with modern requirements. We find, however, a more distinctly religious element about the Cathedral Schools than about grammar schools in general. The masters and scholars are enjoined to perform certain religious observances, or to attend the Cathedral services at certain times, or in some way to show that the place is one of religious as well as secular learning; and this religious character is in general more or less maintained at the present day.

In the position of the Master there is a decided difference in

favour of the Cathedral Schools. He is a member of a powerful and wealthy corporate body, subordinate indeed to the Dean and Canons, but ranking next to them, and not dismissible from his post except according to statute, and with the right of appeal to the Visitor. Indeed, his tenure of office is so protected by the law that it is practically almost equal to a freehold. In this respect some of the old Grammar Schools resemble the Cathedral Schools; but in most of those schools which have been re-modelled of late years, and are now governed by modern schemes, the master is dismissible at the pleasure of the governing body; and there is no doubt that if the constitution of a Cathedral School is to be changed in any manner, many persons will be found to advocate the placing of the master in the same way at the mercy of the governors. A great deal has been said and written in favour of such an arrangement, and no doubt many weighty reasons may be urged for its adoption; but the arguments on the other side have scarcely received the attention which they merit. To discuss the question with reference to Grammar Schools in general would be foreign to our immediate object; but, with regard to the master of a Cathedral School, it is evident that while he remains a member of the foundation, he cannot be subject to dismissal at the pleasure of any person or persons whatever, and that if a future master is not to hold this position, a much higher rate of payment must be offered to secure the services of a man of the same kind as hitherto. We see what security of tenure has done for the status of the beneficed clergy: perhaps as much might be said for or against rendering them liable to dismissal as in the case of the masters of the better class of schools, but no reasonable man advocates such a measure with respect to them, even though gross cases of neglect of duty do sometimes occur. It seems, moreover, that the jurisdiction of the Ordinary as Visitor of a Cathedral School must prevent any such arrangement with regard to the master's tenure of office. How can he be prevented from appealing to the Visitor in case of dismissal?

Another privilege possessed by the Master of a Cathedral School is his claim upon the Capitular patronage. This is in practice almost always conceded, and it may be regarded in the light of a retiring pension to a master in Holy Orders, constituting a great additional recommendation to the position. But it

may be questioned how far this is good for the school. A master who takes charge of a school, hoping after a few years to be promoted to a living, is not likely to make so good a schoolmaster as one who has devoted his life, or at any rate the best years of it, unreservedly to teaching; he will not have his heart in his work, but will be inclined to look forward too much to the time when he may exchange his scholastic duties for something less laborious. Promotion should be to a schoolmaster not a matter of course, but a reward, to be hoped for only in the case of long service or of distinguished success; but in such cases it ought to be certain, in the form of preferment or of a pension according to circumstances. It is, moreover, a duty of the patrons of livings to consider the interests of the parishioners, and it is by no means always the case that a man who has spent twenty or thirty of the best years of his life in teaching boys will make even a tolerably good parish priest in his declining years; the presumption is decidedly against it, as compared with men who have devoted themselves from the first to parish work. Moreover, the tendency to combine the two things, to bolster up inferior clerical positions by teaching, and inferior scholastic positions by clerical work, is on many accounts to be deprecated. It may be a necessity sometimes, but it ought not to be so. The labourer is, in both cases, worthy of his hire, and the Schoolmaster ought to live by teaching, the Parish Priest by attending to his parish.

It must be admitted, however, that this is a modern view of the case, for we find it specially enjoined in the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical" of 1604, that no one should presume to teach without the bishop's licence; and that whenever the curate of the parish was able and willing to teach boys grammar, the bishop should grant a licence to him, and to no one else, except in places where a public grammar school was established. We are told also by the Rev. Canon Hodgson, in his evidence before the Schools Inquiry Commissioners,* that some years ago nearly all the country schools of Cumberland were taught by the clergy. The result in this case seems to have been more injurious to the parishes than to the schools, for we are told that when a late Bishop of Carlisle refused his sanction

* Report, Vol. v. p. 927.

to this state of things, the result was a falling off in education; but that effect would of course right itself in time as soon as good schoolmasters could be obtained.

The question whether a schoolmaster should be a clergyman is quite different from the question whether, being a clergyman, he should combine clerical with his scholastic work. The former is of some special importance to Cathedral Schools, as in them alone will it be permitted to retain the rule of requiring a master to be in Holy Orders; and even if the rule is not retained, the custom will probably continue to prevail with more regularity than elsewhere. The opinion of the late Dr. Arnold on this point is well known. He considered it desirable for many reasons, not only for the social position of the master, but for the sake of the opportunities which the clerical character gave him of doing good among his pupils, that the Head Master of a school should be in orders. This opinion, of course, had reference chiefly to large schools, and perhaps to boarding schools; but it is in a greater or less degree applicable to all schools of the better class, especially where there are any considerable number of boarders, even though the school may be mainly a day school.

The danger which the Cathedral Schools have to fear at the hands of the reformers of the present day, is the adoption of half measures of reform, sufficient to spoil them as Cathedral schools, without putting them in their proper place in any general scheme that may be devised for the education of the great middle class of the nation. It is quite allowable to argue that as the Cathedral Establishment is independent of the parochial organization of the diocese, so the Cathedral School ought to be independent of the scholastic organization of the district; that it ought not to be classed with other schools in any way, and that all it wants is to have its proper share of the Cathedral revenues assigned to it; and to have that share properly administered, and then to be suffered to go on independently. It is no less allowable to argue that the usefulness of the Cathedral School would be increased, if it were severed from the cathedral, and assimilated to other Grammar Schools, and classed accordingly in any system that may be adopted for bringing the schools of the district into harmonious co-operation; if it, in short, ceased to be a Cathedral School at all. Any course

intermediate to these two would probably be followed by less satisfactory results than either.

A great difficulty with which many of the Cathedral Schools have now to contend is, that they are expected to train young men for Oxford and Cambridge, without the necessary means for doing so. Like the Israelites of old, they are required to make bricks without straw. They have not, in general, scholarships of sufficient value to counteract the attractions and the advantages offered by the great public schools; and so they seldom retain their most promising pupils up to the necessary age. Those whom they do retain are injured by want of sufficient competition to develop their powers; and the school is injured by the presence of one or two pupils far beyond the rest in attainments, and requiring an unfair share of the master's attention. A very few of the Cathedral Schools send their pupils in considerable numbers to Oxford or Cambridge, and one in the north sends some to the University of Edinburgh; but generally speaking they are, to use the terms adopted by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, on the line between first grade and second grade schools; and they would be more efficient if they were put decidedly into one class or the other; if they were either enabled to train pupils for the Universities on a considerable scale, or forbidden to attempt it at all. It is obvious also that the King's Scholarships ought to be raised in value, to such an amount as to make them practically useful, in cases where this is not already done: and that where they do not exist, they ought to be founded A stipend for a second master ought also to be provided in every school. These last suggestions might, a few years ago, have been by some considered Utopian; it is to be hoped, however, that section 27 of the Endowed Schools Act has removed them from the realms of dreamland, and rendered their accomplishment possible.

A great work may yet lie before Cathedral Schools in their distinctive character; and not before them only, but also before the Cathedral Establishments in all their various phases of usefulness and duty. Great improvements have taken place of late years, and still greater may be hoped for. A more just appreciation of the responsibility of patronage, is causing and will cause Deaneries and Canonries to be bestowed on sounder principles than formerly. Improved Deans and Chapters are

doing and will do more for their schools than formerly. In this work they will need, and will meet with, the support of public opinion; and by the assistance and advice of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, who are just about taking in hand the business of reform, they will be enabled to remedy the defects under which their schools have for many years laboured. If Deans and Chapters do their duty in this and other respects, we may yet be spared the infliction of another Cathedral Reform Act; or, if it must come, it may come to give a friendly helping hand to reforms commenced from within.

Some writers, whose opinions are entitled to great respect, have said that a Dean and two Residentiary Canons would be sufficient for the performance of the cathedral duty. Granted; but what is the inference? Surely not that the remaining canonries should be suppressed, but rather that they should be utilised by having other specific duties assigned to their occupants. It is not our present purpose to sketch out plans of Cathedral Reform; but we may ask whether the work of education, both theological and general, is not a special duty of a cathedral body; and whether such of the canons as are said to have nothing to do, might not take a more active part in this work than has hitherto been usual.

We may be quite sure that Englishmen have too much practical sense to wish to destroy any institution which is seen to be doing a good work diligently and efficiently; and, if our Cathedrals and their Schools come up to a high standard of usefulness, we may hope not to see that measure of hostile reform which some have threatened; a reform which would mean little short of destruction to the Cathedrals, and secularization to the Cathedral Schools.

T. C. DURHAM.

ESSAY XII.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY.

BY CANON VENABLES.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Object of the Essay—Definition of a Cathedral church: not structurally different from any other church.

English Cathedrals before the Conquest: Basilican in form and arrangement; the causes of their destruction—The præ-Norman Cathedral of Canterbury: changes introduced by the Normans: Edward the Confessor's Abbey of Westminster: Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury — The majority of English Cathedrals Norman in plan and in structure: their characteristics; the transepts, their chapels and aisles; the chapels of the Choir—Norman Crypts: their purpose — Norman Towers — The development of the Eastern limb of English Cathedrals: its object and history; Canterbury the first instance—The Choir of Lincoln—Lady Chapels: their position—Winchester, Bristol, &c.: the shrines of local saints at the east end—The Presbytery of Ely, &c.—The Angel Choir of Lincoln, &c. — The disuse of the apse, and substitution of the square east end: possible reasons for the change—The eastern screens and feretories — Shifting of the Ritual Choir eastward—Western screens—Types of Cathedrals free from Norman influence: Salisbury, Wells, Westminster — Modifications of Cathedrals subsequent to the thirteenth century: York, Exeter, Lichfield, Chester, Worcester, Bristol, Old St. Paul's, Ely.

The introduction of the Perpendicular style — Adaptation of Winchester, Gloucester, Canterbury—Minor alterations—Large west windows.

Subsequent vicissitudes of Cathedrals — The Reformation — The Great Rebellion — The last century — "Wyatt the destructive."

Restorations of the present day—Hopeful prospects for Cathedrals—their necessity in the Diocesan System—End.

THE

ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY.

Πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

THIS Essay has for its subject the Architecture of the Cathedral Churches of England considered historically. In other words, it is an attempt to trace the gradual development of these magnificent structures from the simple and unadorned idea of a primitive Christian church, to examine into the intention of the various parts which go to make up the complicated whole, the motives that dictated the successive modifications in their plan and arrangements, and the causes that led to the structural changes which were continually in operation during the five centuries that witnessed their foundation, progress, and completion in their present form. These changes will be found to have an intimate connection with the political and ecclesiastical movements of the centuries in which these buildings were erected, and to reflect the revolutions through which the Church and Nation of England have passed, and the mutations of religious opinion, in a manner which invests them with a new and peculiar interest. I shall have to say something also as to the founders and builders of these magnificent structures, and the sources from which the funds were provided for their original erection, and for that course of alteration, and, in the eyes of its promoters, improvement, that was carried on almost without interruption from the period of their first foundation up to the time of the Reformation: "*nulla dies sine lineâ.*"

The title of this Essay seems to confine our investigations to Cathedral churches; but it must not be thought that these limits have been unduly transgressed if some facts and illustrations are drawn from churches not comprehended under that designation. The truth is that the popular distinction between Cathedral and other churches is based on an erroneous idea of what a Cathedral church really is. It hardly needs to be repeated here that what constitutes any church a Cathedral church is nothing more than its containing the *cathedra* or official seat of the Bishop whose see it is. Thus any church, however small and undignified, may at any time become the *Ecclesia Cathedralis* of a Diocese, simply through the appointment by the proper authority, that the Bishop's seat of office shall be set up there. It was thus that Glastonbury became for a brief period, at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, the Cathedral church of the Diocese of Bath and Wells,* even as the church of Hackington would have become the Cathedral church of the Diocese of Canterbury if Archbishop Baldwin had carried out the idea, conceived during his dispute with the contumacious monks of Christ Church, of transferring his *cathedra* thither.† By the same easy transition, the Abbey churches selected by Henry VIII. as the sees of his new Bishopricks rose to their new dignity, without the slightest structural change beyond the erection of an episcopal throne. And with equal facility in our own days the Collegiate churches of Ripon and Manchester have become Cathedrals, and we trust that the time may not be far distant when others of our stately Collegiate or Monastic churches that escaped the wreck of the Reformation—St. Alban's, Southwell, St. Mary Overys, &c.—may also become the Cathedrals of their own counties. It follows at once from what I have said that there is not of necessity any structural difference between a Cathedral and any other church. The architectural features that are popularly associated with the idea of a Cathedral‡—

* Freeman, Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 70.

† Hook, Lives of the Archbishops, vol. ii. p. 550.

‡ For convenience' sake the word *Cathedral* will be used in this Essay in its ordinary acceptation, to avoid the repetition of the correct but somewhat cumbrous *Cathedral Church*. Mr. Freeman has well pointed out (Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 10) that "Cathedral is an adjective and not a sub-

the cruciform plan, the uniform height of all four arms of the cross, the central tower, two flanking towers at the west end, the long nave unoccupied by permanent seats, the ritual choir with its canopied stalls and misereres—are in no sense of the essence of a Cathedral. Some are wanting to our existing Cathedrals,* while all are equally shared by other churches which vie with their more dignified sisters in architectural magnificence, and in some cases actually surpass them.† The same laws of architectural development ruled in all the larger churches, whether Cathedral, Monastic, or Collegiate, erected at the same epoch, and all may be legitimately employed as examples in illustration of our subject.

The materials for investigating the architectural character of the Cathedrals erected in England prior to the Norman invasion are scanty and precarious. With the insignificant exception of a fragment of rude walling in the crypt of York Minster, which may possibly have belonged to the "more august basilica of stone" commenced at the suggestion of Paulinus by King Edwin, A.D. 633, around the original wooden oratory in which he had received baptism, completed by his successor Oswald, and thoroughly repaired by Wilfrid, A.D. 699:‡—the very curious and interesting subterranean oratory beneath Ripon Minster, known as *St. Wilfrid's Needle*, which reproduces in so remarkable a manner the form and arrangements of the catacomb-chapels with which Wilfrid must have become familiar in Rome;§ — and the analogous crypt still

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stantive, and its use as a substantive is always rather awkward and slovenly." True; but—

"Ilcuit semperque licebit
Signatum præsente nota producere nomen."

* Neither Manchester nor Llandaff have transepts. The former and Ely, and formerly Hereford, have one western tower, standing like that of an ordinary parish church, at the end of the nave. Carlisle and Bristol have for some centuries wanted a nave, a deficiency now happily being supplied in the latter instance, while at Carlisle the small fragment left standing by the Parliamentary troops has been recently thrown open to the transepts.

† We may instance the glorious Minsters of St. Alban's, Beverley, Southwell, St. Mary Overys, Christchurch Twynham, Romsey, Selby, Milton (Dorset), and St. Mary Redcliffe among churches still standing; and Glastonbury, Fountains, Rievaulx, Whitby, Malmesbury, Bury St. Edmund's, Burlington, Howden, Lindisfarne, Tintern, Netley, Furness, among those wholly or partially in ruins. Westminster Abbey, once for a brief space an actual Cathedral, refuses to be ranked in any class, and towers above all English churches in dignity as in elevation.

‡ Willis's Architectural History of York Minster, pp. 2, 3, 12–16.

§ See Mr. Walbran's Essay in the York volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute.

existing beneath the once Cathedral church of Hexham, founded by Wilfrid, A.D. 673,—every trace of the larger ecclesiastical edifices with which England was covered before the middle of the eleventh century has disappeared. This total destruction of sacred buildings has been sometimes ascribed to their having been chiefly built of wood. No doubt many of them, especially those of earlier date and smaller size, were wooden, and their disappearance may thus be satisfactorily accounted for.* But it would be a complete mistake to suppose that the English, some centuries before the Norman Conquest, had not attained to the art of building in stone, or that they were contented with constructing their Cathedral and Abbey Churches of timber.† Contemporaneous accounts, even allowing for the over-strained language employed by the eulogists of the saintly men who were the founders of these churches, forbid us to question the fact of the erection of stone buildings of considerable size and complication of plan. Reference has already been made to the stone church built by Edwin at York, in obedience to the suggestion of Paulinus, A.D. 633. At the other Metropolitan See, Canterbury, a stone church had been erected or rebuilt at a still earlier period by Augustine, of which more anon. At Lincoln, also, as Bede records, a stone church of beautiful workmanship was built by Paulinus, the walls of which remained at the time of his writing, though by some mischance it had lost its roof. These earlier churches naturally imitated the Basilican form and arrangement, as seen in the magnificent churches of Rome, then in their first glory and beauty. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the churches raised by Wilfrid at Hexham, and at Ripon, enable us to discern that they were constructed of hewn stone, and possessed arcades supported on columns, and upper galleries probably corresponding to those still found in the

* "Igitur profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit." Ricard. Hagastald. apud Twysden, 290. See the late Mr. Hudson Turner's plan and description, Journal of Archæol. Inst., vol. ii. pp. 239-242.

† It is interesting to remark that the wooden chapel erected at Greensted, near Ongar, Essex, A.D. 1013, as the temporary shelter of the relics of St. Edmund, when removed from Bury during an incursion of the Danes, still exists; and after the lapse of eight centuries serves as the parish church. "It consists," writes Mr. Scott (Lectures at Royal Academy, 1868,) "of cleft oak-trees grooved and tongued together by their edges, and let into grooves in horizontal cells and heads."

basilicas of St. Agnes and St. Lawrence at Rome, and conformed generally to the type of a Roman Basilica. The description given of Ramsey Abbey in the time of Dunstan, though not very easy to unravel, seems to indicate a church with aisles, transepts, a central and a western tower. The Cathedral of Winchester was raised from its foundations by Bp. Ethelwold, A.D. 963–984. Of this we have a very pompous and inflated account in Wulstan's poetical epistle to Bp. Elphege; from which, setting aside the exaggerated praise natural in describing a work probably greatly in advance of any that had gone before it, it appears that the early Basilican arrangement was still followed. There was a court of entrance or western cloister, with chapels disposed about it, reminding us of the descriptions given by St. Paulinus of Nola of the churches erected by him at that place.* The Church of Winchester had north and south aisles, and an eastern apse, the altar end of the church being raised, as at St. Peter's and the other primitive basilicas, on a *confessio* or crypt, serving as a place of sepulture for the more sacred dead. The number of "chapels with sacred altars" was such as to distract the visitor, who knew not which way to turn. Elphege, the successor of Bp. Ethelwold, added a tower of five stories with open windows, the description of which recalls the many-storied towers attached to the earlier churches in Rome.† These contemporary notices of præ-Norman churches might be considerably augmented; but what has been produced will be sufficient to prove that the sacred edifices erected during this period were far from being mean and insignificant constructions: and on the contrary that many of them were of very considerable dimensions, and, if judged by an early standard, of some considerable degree of splendour, though their almost universal destruction by the Norman Bishops and Abbots affords sufficient evidence that they fell short of their more advanced views of size and magnificence. Of the evident contrast between the Saxon and Norman architectural works, and of the marked inferiority of the former, we have decisive testimony, in the words of Bishop Wulstan of Worcester, given

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* S. Paulin. Nolan., Epist. 32. Poem. 28 (Natal x.).

† Willis (Arch. Hist. of Canterbury, p. 30) notices the correspondence between the Saxon towers and the Roman "campanili."

in an oft-quoted passage of William of Malmesbury.* On the completion of the Cathedral which Wulstan had erected at Worcester by the side of the Saxon church built by his holy predecessor Oswald, c. A.D. 980, the workmen began to demolish the earlier building. But Wulstan, standing by and looking on, could not restrain his tears, saying, "We wretched people destroy the works of the saints that we may get praise for ourselves. That age of happy men knew not how to construct pompous edifices, but they knew well how under such roofs as they had to sacrifice themselves to God, and to set a good example. We, contrariwise, strive that we may pile up stones, neglecting the while the cure of souls."

Reference has already been made to the architectural ambition of the Norman prelates, as one principal reason for the annihilation of the Cathedrals and Monastic Churches of Saxon times. And there is no doubt that it is to the wondrous vigour and indomitable energy of the Norman character that we owe the substitution, in every part of our island, of edifices in the majestic style introduced by the conquerors, for the smaller, ruder, and less lofty churches of the Saxons. But there was another and equally powerful cause, which had been in operation for a couple of centuries before the Norman Conquest, which will help to explain the disappearance of the earlier ecclesiastical buildings. This is not the place to enter upon the devastations committed by Danes and other Northern piratical hordes during their repeated invasions and lengthened occupations of the soil of England, in which many of its chief religious establishments were pillaged and burnt, in some instances lying desolate for a considerable period. The conflagration of the great Abbeys of Crowland, Peterborough, and Ely by the Danes under Hubba, c. A.D. 870, and of the Cathedral of Canterbury A.D. 1011, when the city was sacked and the Archbishop Elphege led away a prisoner, and at last brutally massacred,† may be taken as typical instances of the fate which befell all the sacred buildings, especially those enriched with treasures of a kind to tempt their cupidity, that were reached by the deso-

* De Gest. Pontiff., lib. iv. p. 283; Willis, Arch. Hist. of Winchester, p. 31.

† Canterbury Cathedral was not so hopelessly ruined by the fire as to forbid its restoration; so that the original fabric seems to have lasted, in the main, down to the days of Lanfranc.

lating tide of heathen invasion. The stern retribution with which the Conqueror visited the unwillingness of the northern counties of England to accept his yoke, sweeping the whole district between the Humber and the Tyne with fire and sword, may be mentioned as another element of destruction of the præ-Norman ecclesiastical buildings. The vengeance of the Conqueror spared nothing sacred or secular in the guilty district. Churches were sacked, and were consumed in the conflagration of the towns in which they stood. York Minster had been previously burnt by the Norman garrison; and was found a roofless ruin with blackened walls when Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop, was appointed to the See, A.D. 1070.* The consequence of the operation of these various destructive elements is that no Cathedral or large Monastic church belonging to the period before the Conquest remains in England, and that we have to content ourselves with such testimony as to their style, plan, and arrangement as may be drawn from contemporary documents, or gathered by analogy from the humbler sacred buildings scattered here and there, which are assigned by architectural critics to this epoch.

The Cathedral Church of Canterbury is one of those of which we have the fullest description, elucidated and rendered intelligible to us by the critical skill of Professor Willis.† Before passing on to the wider and more attractive field presenting itself after the Norman Conquest, it will not be out of place to speak of this as a typical example of a Saxon church. It has already been remarked that the features of the Saxon ecclesiastical edifices seem to have been borrowed from the Roman Basilicas. This resemblance is very evident in the contemporary notice of Wilfrid's Cathedral at Hexham; and Edmer, who, from having been Anselm's companion in his visit to Rome, must have known what he was talking about, distinctly states, with respect to the original Cathedral of Canterbury, that it was to some extent arranged in imitation of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome. The ground-plan, as given by Professor Willis from Edmer's description, at once recals those of the early Roman Basilicas. It is a plain parallelogram, flanked by

* Freeman, Norman Conquest, vol. iv. pp. 267, 373.

† Architectural History of Canterbury, ch. ii. pp. 25–31.

aisles extending from end to end, the cruciform shape being not structurally defined, but merely marked out, as at St. Clement's and elsewhere, by steps and low partitions, the *chorus cantorum* being extended into the nave, and probably enclosed by a wall breast high. Each extremity, as in some of the German Cathedrals,* was terminated by an apse containing an altar or altars standing on a raised platform ascended by steps. The apse to the west contained the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, standing in the centre of the chord, with the episcopal seat in the central point of the curve behind it. The officiating priest at this altar celebrated, as Edmer tells us, in the primitive fashion, standing on the further side, with his face turned to the people.† The platform of the eastern apse, containing two altars, was raised upon a crypt, called by Edmer by the Roman name of a *Confessionary*, in which was an altar containing relics of great preciousness. The church was flanked by two projecting towers, dedicated respectively to St. Gregory and St. Martin. The former, to the south, afforded the principal entrance to the church, at which legal decisions were given in certain special cases drawn from all parts of the kingdom. St. Martin's Tower, to the north, gave access to the cloisters, and was used for the instruction of the novices. The Baptistery, or church of St. John the Baptist, added by Archbishop Cuthbert in the eighth century, was a detached building standing to the east, nearly touching the church.

It will hardly be thought that too much space has been devoted to the description of this church, when it is considered that it is the only account of a præ-Norman church of sufficient clearness to enable us to understand its form and arrangements, and that it was the church which then, as now, took the first rank among the ecclesiastical structures of England as the seat of its Primate; "alterius orbis Papa."

No contrast could well be greater than that presented by the

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* The Abbey Church of St. Gall had a western apse dedicated to St. Paul, and an eastern one to St. Peter. As existing examples of the double apse I may refer to the churches of Gernrode in the Hartz (Fergusson, Hdbk. vol. i. p. 569), Laach, Treves, Worms, Mentz, and Augsburg.

† At the Cathedral of Ravenna may still be witnessed the interesting spectacle of the priest celebrating mass in the same relative position, *i.e.* on the side of the altar away from the people, with his face turned towards them.

Saxon churches, as far as we are able to arrive at their form and disposition, and those of Norman construction. "The old manner of building," in the words of Mr. G. G. Scott, "during a course of nearly five centuries, had failed to generate any development of a truly artistic character, and was swept at once and for ever from the face of the earth, and there was substituted for it a style which, if at first little less rude than its predecessor, contained within itself the germs of a thoroughly sound artistic system, which speedily germinated into a series of developments, the most glorious perhaps that man has ever seen."* This contrast was strongly felt by those who witnessed the introduction into England of the Norman style of building and arrangement. It was regarded by them as a new kind of design, *novum genus compositionis*,† and in no sense a development of the style already practised among them; and its unmistakeable superiority to anything that had yet been seen in England excited a spirit of emulation to which we are indebted for the reconstruction of nearly all our Cathedrals and large Abbey churches.‡

Passing over as foreign to my object all investigations as to the origin and growth of the Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture, I will proceed to consider the novel features in plan, design, and arrangement introduced by the Norman architects in the immense and stately churches with which in an incredibly short space of time they covered the new land of their adoption.

For the first genuine Norman work erected on British soil we must go back to the period immediately preceding the Conquest. Edward the Confessor, by education, by taste, in almost everything but his birth and paternal descent, a Norman, while he imported into his kingdom the advanced civilization in the midst of which he had grown up on the other side of the Channel, also introduced the improved architectural skill manifested in the huge and elaborate churches which were continually rising there. Westminster Abbey (to quote Mr. Freeman) was built by him "in the newest style of the day, and it

* Royal Academy Lectures, Jan. 30, 1868.

† William of Malmesbury, ii. 228: "Ecclesia . . . . quam ipse (Edward the Confessor) novo compositionis genere primus in Anglia ædificaverat, quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosis æmulantur expensis."

remained the great object of English imitation deep into the twelfth century." Its marked superiority, as well in size and in arrangement as in design and in ornament, to anything that had preceded it, "made a deep impression on men's minds, and its erection formed an era in our national architecture."* Although the church itself has entirely passed away, giving place to the more glorious pile of Henry III., who, to afford a more fitting shrine for the body of the royal saint, scrupled not to demolish his own handiwork, the minute details given to us by those who saw it in its first glory leave us in no doubt as to its form and arrangement, and enable us to realise the features which chiefly distinguished it from the structures of earlier days. The most marked of these was its cruciform shape. Hitherto the sacred form—a visible symbol of man's Redemption in the very plan and outline of the building in which the Redeemer was worshipped—had been confined to the interior; and there, as we see in the existing Basilicas, was rather indicated by ritual arrangements, and the collocation of the columns of the arcades, than expressed in the fabric itself. The Romanesque architecture, as adopted and developed by the Norman builders, made the Cross the key-note of their whole composition. The entire building, from the foundations to the topmost coping, was ruled by the cruciform idea. Transepts boldly projecting from the body of the church, and rising to an equal height with it, now for the first time broke the long monotonous line which is so displeasing in the external view of the early Basilicas, and formed, with the nave and choir, a foundation, whose very aspect bespoke firmness and durability, for the central tower, that unfailing feature of every large monastic church. The open lantern of this tower rose, as the noblest of canopies, above the ritual choir, which in all Norman churches occupied, with its stalls and seats, the central space of the intersecting arms. A short eastern arm, ending in an apse, contained the high altar. Numerous chapels were annexed to the transepts and choir. To the west stretched the nave, to a length hitherto unseen in England. The aisles were vaulted in stone, and were divided from the nave by long

* Freeman, Norman Conquest, vol. ii. p. 508-510; Stanley, Memorials of Westminster Abbey, p. 25.

rows of arches resting on columns. They were terminated by two smaller towers, designed as belfries; but perhaps not completed till a subsequent period. In short, the Confessor's new building corresponded, in its perfected form, in all essential points, with the type which was afterwards reproduced with such marvellous profusion by the Norman church builders in England, but which was then seen for the first time on our shores.*

Immediately after the establishment of William's rule, the work of church building commenced in his new dominion. The earliest work was, most fitly, the reconstruction of the Cathedral of the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop, on his entrance on his see, A.D. 1070, found his Cathedral, the venerable monument of Augustine and Ethelbert, in ruins, in consequence of an accidental conflagration which three years previously had laid nearly the whole city in ashes. Without delay the new prelate, with true Norman vigour, at once set about the entire destruction of what remained of the ancient church, and the erection of a new one. He was not willing to be in any respect fettered, as all later Cathedral architects have been,† by the plan and arrangements of the earlier edifice. The whole fabric, as well in its plan and design as in the details of its architecture, was to be an example of the "novum compositionis genus" first introduced by the Confessor. From this time forward, in all larger churches, the old Basilican plan, which had proved so unelastic and incapable of modification or expansion, was completely given up, and the new cruciform type, which, while faithful to its fundamental idea, affords such abundant scope for variety of outline and picturesqueness of grouping, was universally followed.

Lanfranc's Cathedral, in common with the other buildings we have as yet mentioned, no longer exists. But there is no

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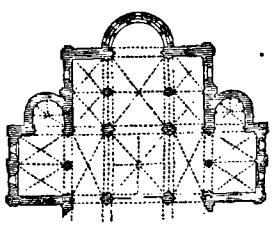
* Harold's Abbey Church of Waltham may also be mentioned as a construction of the same epoch, and in the same style as the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster; but it must always have been very inferior in size and importance, and the whole of the choir and transepts, the only part we can safely attribute to its royal founder, have disappeared. The nave which alone remains, though very early in the style, was more probably erected after the Conquest.

† Salisbury is a self-evident exception. St. Paul's belongs to a different category.

doubt that in its plan and architectural features it corresponded accurately to the received Norman model, of which an example had been commenced under his direction at the Monastery of St. Stephen at Caen before his appointment to the See of Canterbury. This church, which, with the exception of its choir, still remains as Lanfranc built it, answers so closely both in plan and arrangement to Gervase's description of Lanfranc's church at Canterbury, that we can hardly doubt that one was an almost exact copy of the other. The Kentish Cathedral comprised a nave of nine bays, with aisles ending in western towers, one of which was standing as late as 1834, when an ill-advised love of uniformity led to its destruction, in order to erect a copy of the meagre Perpendicular tower at the south-west angle. Short transepts, with an apsidal chapel of two stories projecting from the eastern face of both, and a transverse gallery supported on an isolated pillar, for the preservation and exhibition of relics: a central lantern and (though this is only recovered by analogy) a small choir of only two bays, raised, like its predecessor, on a *confessio* or crypt, and terminating in an apse. The nave and transepts covered the same ground they do at present, but the church has been immensely extended eastwards. The whole work, to the wonder of his own generation, was completed in the space of seven years. One chief difference between the prototype at Caen and the copy at Canterbury was that, while the Norman Church was vaulted throughout with stone, its English sister, like all English churches of the epoch, was ceiled with wood. It was a full century before English builders gained sufficient courage and skill to throw a stone vault over the wide central space of their churches. In the ceiling of the nave and transept of Peterborough we have a specimen—the only one that has outlasted the casualties of fire or storm, or the more ambitious taste of later generations of church-improvers—of the mode of roofing wide central areas universal in England during Norman times. Flat ceilings are also found covering central spaces in the Norman churches of Southwell and St. Alban's;



Plan of the Church of St. Stephen, Caen. From Ramée, Histoire de l'Architecture. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

but these are later imitations of the original roofs.* It was not that the constructive principles of vaulting were unknown. During the whole time that flat ceilings covered the central alleys, the side aisles of our large churches were regularly vaulted in stone. But the builders of that day were poor engineers, as the repeated fall of their central towers proves, and the timidity and self-distrust of inexperience crippled all their efforts in a new and untried path. So much was this the case, that though in the grand Cathedral of Durham—perhaps the most original and thoroughly-satisfying work of the Norman style we possess—the vaulting shafts show that a stone roof formed part of the architect's design from the first, it was not until the style was passing through the Transitional period into Early English that builders were found of sufficient hardihood to carry out the intention.† The continual risk from fire created by these combustible coverings, which renders the early annals of nearly all our Cathedrals and Conventual Churches little more than a record of successive conflagrations and restorations, gradually forced the twelfth-century builders to attempt the rash leap which, as in many analogous cases, when once made, proved far more easy of execution than had been supposed.

But we are anticipating, and must return to our path, and trace the development of the Cathedral type from its starting points at Westminster and Canterbury.

The second Metropolitan See was not long behind its more dignified sister in adopting the newly-imported style. Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop, after having temporarily repaired the ruins of the Saxon Cathedral, destroyed by William's Norman garrison, erected an entirely new church from the

* This description of ceiling has been lately adopted with excellent effect in the Norman naves of Waltham Abbey, Ely Cathedral—the former flat, the latter canted. Both are admirably painted, the one by Mr. Burges, the other by Mr Styleman L'Estrange, whose work was carried on after his premature decease by another amateur, equal in artistic power and indefatigable zeal, Mr. Gambier Parry.

† The vault of Durham Nave is usually attributed to Prior Melsonby, A.D. 1233–1244. But this date seems much too late for the work, and I am not aware that there is any documentary evidence for the assertion. In the transepts the vaulting shafts run to the roof, irrespective of the present groining, so that probably they were intended to be covered by a flat ceiling. The nave and transepts of St. Paul's, London, were covered with a stone vault, which appears from Hollar's views to have been contemporaneous with the fabric, commenced

foundations, c. A.D. 1080.* Of this Cathedral we know even less than of Lanfranc's, at Canterbury. We are enabled, however, to determine that the nave was of the same length, and its central alleys of the same breadth as those of the present church, and that the aisleless transepts had, as at Canterbury, an eastern apsidal chapel in each arm.

We have hitherto had the somewhat unsatisfactory task of speaking of fabrics no longer in being, and of endeavouring to determine their plan, style, and arrangement from a few scattered fragments, and the descriptions of contemporary annalists. We now pass on to our existing Cathedrals and Monastic Churches, which we shall see to be governed by the same dominant idea, and planned on the same principles as those which have most recently come under our notice as the expressions of Norman architectural genius. The multitude of great architectural works erected by the early Norman builders and the vast scale on which the majority of them are designed, combined with the immense solidity of the walls and the massive character of all structural features, are such as to awaken a feeling of astonishment at the indomitable energy, and the command of almost inexhaustible resources such buildings imply, and of admiration for the religious zeal, true if uninstructed, which dictated the devotion of so much labour and treasure and thought, to the honour of the Most High and the service of His Temple. "Nearly every Cathedral and great Abbey," writes Mr. G. G. Scott,† "was rebuilt on a stupendous scale; new

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A.D. 1083. If so, this grand church surpassed all its contemporaries in boldness of construction and perfection of design as much as we know it did in general dimensions. The remains of Lindisfarne Priory, rebuilt A.D. 1093, still exhibit in one of the cross springers an evidence of its having had a stone vault.

* It is thought "very probable" by Prof. Willis (Archit. Hist. of York, pp. 14–16), "that Abp. Thomas only repaired the Saxon chancel, leaving it to be rebuilt," as it was subsequently by Abp. Roger, 1154–1181, "after his nave and transepts were completed."

† For the remains of the Norman church of Lichfield, including the foundations of its apse, see Prof. Willis' Essay, Journal of the Archæolog. Inst., vol. xviii. pp. 1–24. From the insignificance of its position, Wells was one of the latest of our Cathedrals to profit by the Norman zeal for building. The removal of the see to Bath by Bishop John de Villula in A.D. 1088, fully accounts for this. The Saxon Church of Edward the Elder probably remained untouched till the episcopate of Bishop Robert, A.D. 1136–1166, when it was rebuilt according to the taste of the day. Robert's church, however, has been swept away more completely than almost any other of its age. One small bit of masonry, and a single stone with Norman mouldings, built up into an adjacent house, comprise all that Mr. Freeman has been able to dis-

Cathedrals and new Abbeys were founded, and churches of all grades from these vast temples down to the smallest village-church were erected throughout the length and breadth of the country." In fact, almost every one of our existing Cathedrals is, either in its ground-plan or its actual fabric, an outward and visible sign and token of the occupation of England by its Norman conquerors, and of the advanced civilization introduced by them. A hasty survey of our Cathedrals will verify this assertion, and serve to bring home the fact, the importance of which is hardly sufficiently realized, of the permanence of the stamp thus first impressed on the ecclesiastical architecture of England.

Of the twenty-four Cathedral Churches of England, all but six—St. Paul's, Wells, Lichfield, Manchester, Ripon, and Salisbury—exhibit more or less of actual Norman work, or of the design and arrangement peculiar to that period, in the midst of the later additions with which they have been surrounded or overlaid. And even these six are hardly such as to constitute real exceptions. Manchester is a late foundation, only erected into a Collegiate Church A.D. 1422, and elevated to Cathedral rank within living memory. St. Paul's is a modern classical building replacing the vastest and grandest of all the Norman churches of England; while Salisbury is the representative of the ancient Norman Cathedral founded by St. Osmund A.D. 1078–1099, within the inhospitable hill fortress of Old Sarum. The other three—Lichfield, Ripon, and Wells—stand on the site of Norman buildings, and enshrine relics of the original structures, either beneath the pavements or within the walls of the later erections.*

Of the remaining eighteen, seven — Durham, Chichester, Gloucester, Hereford, Norwich, Oxford, and Peterborough—are strictly Norman buildings; for although there is not one to which later additions have not been made, and which has

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cover. "Whatever was built in the days of Robert has utterly vanished." (Freeman, Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 69.) It is an almost unparalleled fact in the history of our Cathedrals that, in Mr. Freeman's words, "a church most likely of the tenth century, remained at least to the middle of the twelfth century, and that large portions of it were not improbably standing even in the thirteenth." At Ripon nothing distinctly Norman can be pointed out beyond the so-called Chapter-house and the crypt below it, annexed to the south aisle of the choir.

* Royal Academy Lectures, 1868.

not been subjected to continual alteration and modification, the original fabric stands out plain and unmistakeable in its rugged grandeur. Of the others, the nave and transepts at Ely, at Rochester the nave, at Winchester the transepts, are among the grandest and most characteristic examples of the Norman style.* The almost unique transeptal towers at Exeter, the fragmentary nave at Carlisle, one transept at Chester, also bespeak their Norman founder. Even Cathedrals which to an ordinary observer appear to be entirely structures of a later date, will usually yield up evidences of their Norman origin to the more searching investigator. The crypts of Canterbury, Worcester, and York reveal the plan and character of the churches that preceded the existing fabrics, while in the first-named Cathedral a close examination of the walls of the eastern limb both within and without will prove how much of the "glorious choir" of Ernulph and Conrad still survives amidst the lighter and more refined work of the two Williams; and at Worcester a practised eye will as certainly discover the Norman character of the transepts. At Bristol the evidences of Norman date in the church itself are of the minutest. But a capital in the south transept and some corbels in a staircase on the north side, and the masonry of other parts, offer proof which cannot be gainsaid that the walls of Fitzharding's church A.D. 1148 still, in the main, exist. Even Lincoln, which comes next to Salisbury as a building of one style, and where no rude inartistic relics of a previous age disturb the exquisite harmony which unites the Early English in its varied progressive development into one perfect whole, is not entirely destitute of structural traces of its founder Remigius, and his Norman successors. The foundations of the apse and side-walls of his choir lurk unseen beneath the floor of the stalls, while the three gigantic cavernous recesses of the west front, which in their rude outlines dimly foreshadow the glories of Peterborough's transcendant portal, manifest the sternness of the early Norman character as truly as the intricate arcades rising tier above tier at the base

* The nave of Winchester is also essentially a Norman structure, but transformed into Perpendicular by William of Wykeham's ingenuity, without disturbing the solidity of the original walls and cores of the pillars. The choir of Gloucester has been converted into the same style in a much less artistic and satisfactory manner.

of the western towers and their gables, in their barbaric richness, tell of the increased refinement and advanced architectural skill which was gradually developing itself on both sides of the Channel.

If we desire to know what was the character of these stupendous fabrics when they first issued from the hands of their Norman architects, there are sufficient materials to enable us to form a very distinct idea. Divested of later alterations which at once declare themselves, the entire fabrics of Peterborough, Norwich, Durham, Gloucester, Hereford, Chichester, and the great Abbey Church of St. Alban's, together with the large Norman portions of Ely, Winchester, Rochester, &c., mentioned above, set before us most clearly the Norman Minster in its majestic, almost awful simplicity—

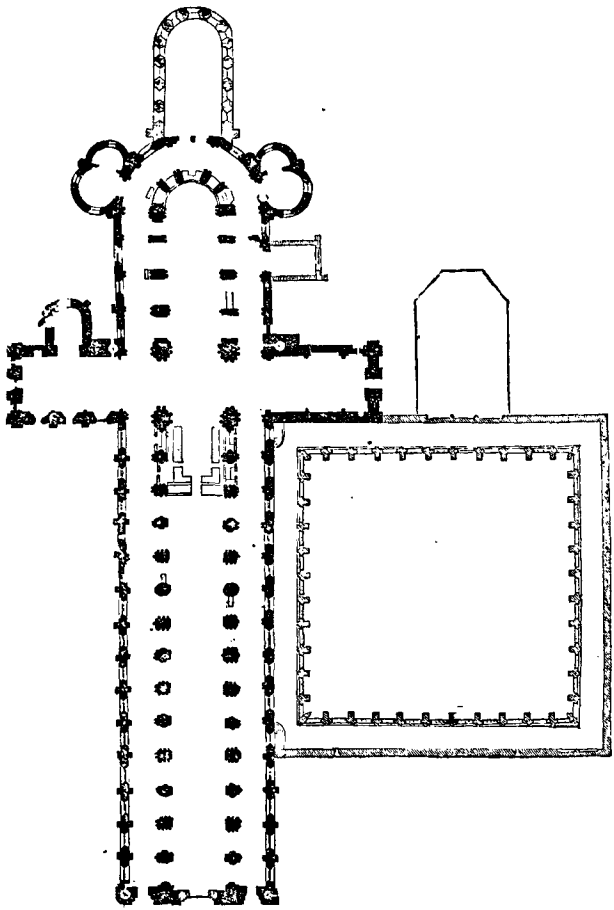
> "They dreamt not of a perishable home
> Who thus could build."

Of them all, none preserve their original Norman plan and elevations, both internal and external, so little undisturbed as Norwich, Peterborough, and St. Alban's. None display more prominently the peculiar characteristics of the style. We see the long unbroken nave (extending to the length at Norwich of 250 feet, Peterborough 211 feet, St. Alban's 280 feet*), bay after bay succeeding one another in unbroken succession, but with minor modifications which add to the picturesqueness without detracting from the harmony;† the transept of bold projection, so happily interrupting the continuous lines of the main arm of the cross, the chapels projecting from its eastern

* Norwich has the largest number of bays in its nave, 14; Ely had 13 before the fall of its centre tower, reduced now to 12; St. Alban's and Bury, 13; old St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, Winchester, each 12; Peterborough, 11; Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester, each 9; Chichester, Durham, Hereford, Rochester, York, and probably the Norman Cathedral of Lincoln, each 8; Chester, excluding the western towers, 6. Of later Cathedrals, where it is uncertain how far the later builders were fettered by the old design, Wells has 10 bays; Lichfield and Lincoln, including the western towers, 8; Exeter, 7; Ripon, including the western towers, 6. The fragments of the naves of Oxford and Carlisle have respectively 4 and 2 bays. Salisbury and Manchester, where there was no Norman Church to influence the designers, have respectively 10 and 6 bays.

† The length of the naves of some other Cathedrals which retain their Norman plan unchanged, are Ely, 203 ft.; York, 210 ft.; Canterbury, 190 ft. Winchester, before the demolition of its western towers, extended to the stupendous length of 300 ft., which was equalled by old St. Paul's and exceeded by Bury, 309 ft.

face for the reception of the altars now so rapidly increasing in number; the central lantern, with the ritual choir below it, the short eastern arm, or constructional choir, terminating in



Plan of Norwich Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

the universal feature, a semicircular apse,* soon to be laid aside for the afterwards equally universal rectangular east end.

* At St. Alban's the apse has given place to an Early English choir. The original apsidal termination only exists in its pristine form at Norwich Peterborough, and Canterbury, the Abbeys of Tewkesbury, Pershore, and in a

In no part of our Norman Cathedrals was there so much scope for diversity of arrangement as in the chapels which clustered round the transepts and choir. The number and position of these was determined by the religious wealth of the Cathedral or Abbey. If the foundation was rich in relics of the older saints, or could boast of the possession of the entire bodies of bishops and holy men of later times, or could show with pride particular spots consecrated by heavenly visions and authenticated by miracles, chapels sprang up in abundance, the plan of which, as Prof. Willis has pointed out,* is usually distributed so as to display those treasures to the greatest advantage, while the offerings of the faithful at these hallowed shrines formed a source of wealth continually flowing in to enable the religious bodies to provide the requisite accommodation for the relics and their worshippers.

The transeptal arrangements of our early churches, modified according to this law, vary very considerably both in projection and in plan. The normal transept was aisleless, of somewhat moderate projection, with one or more apsidal chapels containing altars projecting from the east face.† These chapels were commonly of two stories, with altars on the triforium level.‡ We see this arrangement still existing at Gloucester, and can prove it at Canterbury, Chichester, &c. There were two at St. Alban's (one larger than the other), as there still are in the later examples of the eastern transepts at Canterbury and Lincoln. Another form of chapel arrangement which latterly entirely superseded the apsidal, gave an eastern aisle to the transepts, each bay of which was devoted to a sepa-

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modified form on the original foundations at Winchester and Gloucester. It has been destroyed in later alterations at Chester, Chichester, Durham, Lichfield, Lincoln, Worcester, and York; in all of which instances, except the last-named, remains of the curved wall are still visible or have been discovered by excavation. The apses of Westminster Abbey and Lichfield are anomalies to be accounted for on separate principles.

* Architectural History of Canterbury, Introduction, p. viii.

† There was a single apsidal chapel attached to each transept at Canterbury, Chester, Chichester, Romsey, Southwell, Worcester, York, Gloucester, and Norwich, though it only remains in the two last named.

‡ The upper chapel in the N. transept of Canterbury contained the altar and relics of St. Blaise, "the first martyr whose bones had been brought into the church, and which gave the little chapel a peculiar sanctity; the lower contained the altar of St. Benedict, under whose rule, from the time of Dunstan, the monastery had been placed." Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, p. 73.

rate altar. As Norman examples, we may instance, with three such chapels in either transept, Winchester, Peterborough, Ely, and Durham. Old St. Paul's and Bury, in this as in almost every particular, surpassing most other English churches, had four.*

The eastern transept aisle, constructed for the reception of altars, was in some few instances balanced by one to the west, a plan productive of such pleasing harmony that it is cause for regret that it was not more often adopted. The transepts have double aisles at Winchester, Ely (old St. Paul's), York, Wells, Westminster, and the lovely collegiate church of Beverley. The north transept of Oxford and the south transept of Chester also adopt the same plan. Another ritual arrangement, by no means unusual in the churches of Normandy, connected with the preservation and exhibition of relics of peculiar sanctity, may be mentioned here. This is a transverse gallery at the triforium level carried across the north and south ends of the transepts. The only existing examples of this arrangement are in the transepts of Winchester, where it is supported by two arches rising from a single central column continuing the aisle arcade; and at Ely, where "it is erected on more pillars, and set closer to the wall than usual."† But we know that such a gallery existed in the Norman Cathedral of Canterbury, both from Gervase's description, and from the history of the murder of Becket, of which the space beneath the gallery of the north transept, subsequently known as "the Martyrdom," was the scene. It was against the pillar supporting this gallery that the Archbishop planted himself in his final struggle with his assassins, so vividly depicted by Dean Stanley in his 'Memorials of Canterbury.'‡ A later example of this gallery may be pointed out in the northern arm of the eastern or St. Hugh's transept at Lincoln, c. 1200, in which the transverse wall is carried up to the roof, repeating the triforium and clerestory.

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* Later examples are Lincoln, Salisbury, York, and Westminster, three each. At Ripon, Wells, and the south transept of Hereford, there are two. Exeter, with its anomalous transeptal towers, has one.

† Willis, Arch. Hist. of Canterbury, p. 39, note.

‡ Willis, p. 75. This pillar, as well as the vault and gallery that rested on it, "was taken down in process of time out of respect for the martyr, that the altar, elevated on the place of the martyrdom might be seen from a greater distance. Around and at the height of the aforesaid vault a gallery was constructed from which *pallia* and curtains might be suspended." Gervase, apud Willis, *u. s.* p. 41.

From the transeptal chapels we pass to those of the choir. In the earlier Norman churches we find examples of chapels radiating from the main apse or its aisles. We may instance those of Norwich, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, as well as those of which we have unmistakeable indications at Chester, Chichester, and Leominster. This arrangement, as is well known, attained a high development in the French churches, and was brought to perfection at Rheims and Amiens, which last seems to have been taken as the type for the grouping of eastern chapels* in all subsequent erections. But for some unexplained cause this arrangement failed to find favour in our Island. It was never extensively adopted, and soon died out, together with its essential companion the apse. Henry III. appears to have become enamoured of this arrangement during his sojourn in France, and he adopted it in his reconstruction of the choir of Westminster Abbey. We have another example of it in the Abbey Church of Pershore. But royal patronage was not powerful enough to obtain its general adoption, and it died out, with an exceptional resuscitation at Lichfield, and in one of the latest existing Gothic works, the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. So general has been the destruction of the eastern terminations of our large churches in subsequent alterations, that it is difficult to speak with any certainty of the character of the chapels that ended our Cathedrals in the east. Not one remains complete. We have the walls of a Norman chapel at Chichester; the foundations of one at Norwich; and we are able at Canterbury to reproduce the form and dimensions of the square-ended chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity at the east end of the Cathedral, at the altar of which "the blessed martyr Thomas celebrated his first mass on the day of his consecration," and in which he "was buried on the day after his martyrdom."† The eastern chapel at Winchester was apsidal; and a chapel of the same form stood at the east end of Chester.‡

It would be unpardonable to leave the subject of the choirs

* Mr. Scott (Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, p. 13) mentions "Beauvais, Cologne, Altenberg, and a host of other instances," as indebted for the grouping of their eastern chapels to Amiens, with, in the German examples perhaps Beauvais as their intermediate type.

† Gervase. Willis, *u. s.* pp. 46, 47.

‡ Scott. Arch. Hist. of Chester, p. 7.

of Norman Cathedrals, without saying a few words concerning the crypts on which the eastern arm or presbytery (as distinguished from the ritual choir, which was always under the lantern) was frequently elevated. There are four of these crypts in England with apsidal terminations, which, in order of time, are Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, and Canterbury, all built in the last twenty years of the eleventh century. The crypt of York, of the latter half of the next century, was filled up solid with earth at the time of the erection of the present choir, A.D. 1380–1400, and its existence forgotten. It was only rediscovered during the repairs of the choir after the lamentable fire of 1829. It has lost its eastern termination, but in other respects it corresponds to those already named. At Rochester, an extensive crypt supports the choir and presbytery, the western part of which is evidently of Gundulf's work, A.D. 1076–1107; but the eastern portion is Early English of the date of the superior building. Of these subterranean structures, the Crypt of Canterbury is the largest and most elaborate in its arrangements; but that of Worcester, with its intricate forest of slender columns, is the most picturesque. In these crypts, we see the northern representatives of the *martyrium* or *confessio* of the primitive basilicas, reproduced according to the best skill of the Norman architects. Their object was two-fold: to raise the altar on high in order that the celebration of the sacred mysteries might be clearly visible to all below, and to provide a place of interment for those whom the Church wished most to honour, and whose hallowed bones were regarded as her most precious possession. They were by no means universal even in Norman times, and are not found at all in any of the later styles; except where, as at Rochester and old St. Paul's, the requirements of the existing building forced them upon the subsequent architects. Their construction may indeed be regarded as a piece of architectural conservatism, highly valued by some, as linking their churches more directly to those of the metropolis of Christendom; but disregarded by those of more progressive tastes and more utilitarian views. There is no trace of a crypt at St. Alban's, standing first among Abbeys as Canterbury does among Cathedrals; nor at Ely, erected by Abbot Simeon at the very time that his brother Walkelyn constructing his crypt

at Winchester; nor at Remigius' Norman Minster at Lincoln; nor at Chichester; nor at Norwich; nor at Durham; nor at Peterborough, all erected between the middle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; still less in any church of more modern date. The formation of crypts was, in fact, a foreign fashion, which failed to take permanent root in England, and indeed elsewhere barely outlasted the Romanesque period.*

Before I pass on to later developments of our Cathedral architecture, reference must be made to the towers of our Norman churches. These were much more numerous than is usually supposed. For the completeness of the design of a large Norman church, at least three towers were requisite—that in the centre, at the intersections of the arms of the cross, beneath which the ritual choir was always placed; and two at the western extremities of the aisles. The design of the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster included these three towers, though the western ones seem not to have been finished till after his death. Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury was thus provided; and, as I have already said, one of his western towers remained till a recent date. We also find them, or their successors, more or less perfect, at Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, Southwell, Ripon, Worksop, Old Maldon, Wells, Lichfield, and Peterborough. They formerly existed at Chester, Gloucester, Winchester, St. Alban's, and Bury St. Edmund's. But besides these essential elements of a perfect Norman design, the architects of that day gratified their fancy in raising numerous towers and turrets of slenderer dimensions in other positions about the walls of their churches. A favourite situation for these minor towers was at the east end, flanking the apse. The eastern turrets at Peterborough are examples of this arrangement; and they are known to have existed at Canterbury, York, Winchester, and Worcester. Those at Canterbury, known by the hallowed names of St. Anselm and St. Andrew, were so sacred in the eyes of the later builders, that the curious and awkward contraction in the plan of Trinity Chapel is owing to the unwillingness to sacrifice them. Subsequent architects unfortunately

* At Bury, the shrine of St. Edmund was raised on a Roman crypt supported by 24 pillars. The crypt beneath the Early English Lady Chapel at Hereford was rendered necessary by the rapid fall of the ground towards the river, and is quite an exceptional case.

had less reverence for antiquity, and only the basement stories now remain. The transept gables were also sometimes flanked with small towers or turrets, of which we have examples at Durham and in the eastern transept of Canterbury. An incomplete arch in the north transept at Winchester evidences that there also such an arrangement was contemplated, if not carried out.

The central towers or lanterns were usually of no great altitude, as we see at Winchester, Ripon, and Southwell. But the soaring towers at Norwich, Tewkesbury, and St. Alban's afford a visible evidence that this was by no means always the case. The description of the original central tower at Peterborough leads us to believe that it also was lofty.

The Norman towers of Bishop Warelwast at Exeter occupy a very unusual position, shared in, however, by the neighbouring church of Ottery St. Mary, as north and south transepts. At Ely there is a single western tower, the work of Bishop Ridel, in the Transition style, as there was at Bury, and at Hereford before its lamentable fall A.D. 1786. Both these last were of Norman construction, though that of Hereford had received Perpendicular additions.*

I now return to the examination of the ground-plans and arrangements of the fabrics of our Cathedrals, which in the latter part of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were to receive a new development, destined materially to affect the character of almost all the chief churches of England. As has been already seen, the eastern limb, as originally planned by its Norman architects, was in most cases of very moderate length. The fact was, that existing requirements did not render any considerable space at the east end necessary. The area under the lantern afforded abundant room for the ritual choir and the ordinary services of the Hours, while the three or four

* The only spires now existing in our English Cathedrals are those of Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, and Oxford, all central, and the three—one central and two western—of Lichfield. They were much more common in the Middle Ages; but were frequently of wood covered with lead, and so were more liable to disasters from wind, lightning, and that most fatal of all destructive agencies, the carelessness of workmen. Timber spires covered with lead have been destroyed on the three towers of Lincoln and Ripon, the N.W. towers of Canterbury and Peterborough, the W. towers of Durham and Southwell, the central towers of Hereford, Rochester, and St. Alban's, and the western tower of Ely.

bays that intervened between the tower and the apse gave room enough for all that was wanted to add dignity to the Eucharistic celebration. In the centre of the chord of the semicircle stood the high altar, behind which, in the middle of the curve, was the seat of the bishop or chief minister, as it may still be seen in the apse of Norwich, and in a more perfect form at the Cathedral of Torcello, near Venice. On either side of the high altar rose the shrines of such saints, greater or lesser, whose relics the Church had the good fortune to be able to call her own.* But as time went on, these hallowed treasures increased in number and in attractiveness. The tombs of departed saints became the accredited centres of miraculous agencies, and drew to themselves ever-increasing crowds of votaries, desiring not only an interest in the holy man's intercessions, but, still more, a share in the physical benefits of which his remains were supposed to be the divinely-appointed channels to suffering humanity. To accommodate these vast throngs, as well as to afford space for the due exhibition of the objects of their veneration, a greatly enlarged eastern limb was required: and in one cathedral and great church after another we find the same process of eastern extension gone through, and for the accomplishment of the same object. It matters little what Cathedral it is to which our enquiry is directed, the result is the same. Wherever the fabric has been elongated to the East an examination of the documentary history will show that the motive was identical, the necessity for increased shrine-room, and an enlarged area for the reception of the worshippers of the local saint. This fact—which has hardly received the prominence due to its importance—also affords an explanation of the enlargements received by our Cathedrals being, almost without exception, confined to the eastern limb, and the chapels grouped about it. In almost every instance the nave occupies the same ground, if it be not actually the same fabric, as that originally built by the Normans; while there are but seven instances—

* At Canterbury the shrine of St. Elphege was placed on the north of the high altar; that of St. Dunstan on the south, with their respective altars to the west of the shrine. At Worcester the shrine of St. Oswald stood in advance of the high altar to the north, and that of the sainted Bishop Wulstan to the south. The very unsaintly John Lackland found his resting-place between the holy men, "that," adds the chronicler, "the saying of Merlin might be verified, *he shall be placed between the saints.*"

Winchester, Gloucester, Durham, Hereford, Norwich, Oxford, and Peterborough—in which the walls of the choir have not received eastward elongation, and in all of these, with the single exception of Oxford, chapels have been added still further to the east.

The first impulse in the direction of this eastward enlargement proceeded most naturally from the same quarter in which the first example of a Norman Cathedral was given, the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury. The eastern limb of Lanfranc's church very speedily proved inadequate for the requirements of the brethren, and about A.D. 1093, within twenty years of its completion, it was pulled down by the prior and monks of the monastery, at the instance or at least with the approbation of his successor Anselm. The work was begun by Prior Ernulf, and finished by Prior Conrad.

So extensive was this enlargement that the area of the church, as Prof. Willis has shewn, was nearly doubled by it; and "as no ruin, fire, or other casualty has been recorded, it must be assumed that the sole reason for this change was that the monks did not think their church large enough for the importance of their monastery; and above all"—and this we cannot doubt was the leading motive—"that they wanted shrine-room for the display of the relics they had so assiduously collected; and also for the proper disposition of their ancient archbishops, most of whom appear to have been canonized."* The ground-plan of the choir of Canterbury as reconstructed under Anselm—"the glorious choir of Conrad" as it was styled by Gervase—given by Professor Willis,† enables us at a glance to realise the prodigious stride taken by Prior Ernulf, and followed, though somewhat tardily, by successive generations of English church builders. Instead of the short constructional choir, hardly ever exceeding four bays, and often having a smaller number, we see a choir of no less than nine bays to the springing of the apse; and the apse itself, not a mere semicircular wall, but a graceful *chevet* of six columns, with their intermediate arches opening into the aisle, continued as a "procession path" round it. We remark also the appearance

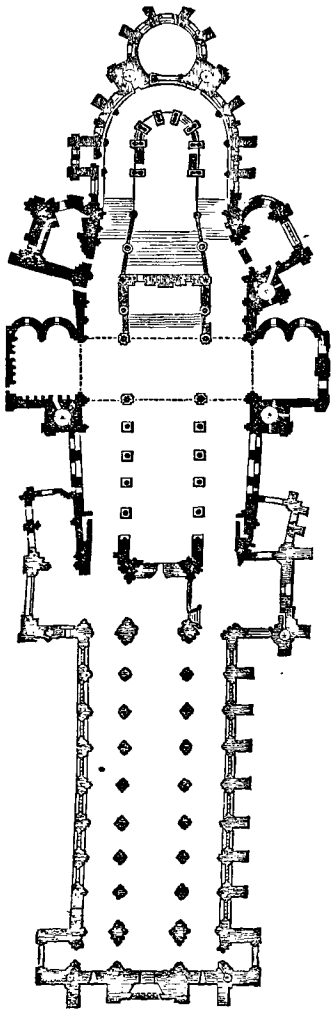
* Willis, Arch. Hist. of Cant., p. 63. † Ibid., p. 39.

of a new feature, probably borrowed from the great Abbey of Clugny, viz., a second eastern transept, of greater projection than the transepts of the original Norman church, each with two apsidal chapels attached to the east wall.* The apse was flanked with two towers, bearing the names of St. Andrew and St. Anselm, with eastern apses containing altars. The whole terminated in a square-ended chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The large number of altars, many of them enshrining relics of peculiar sanctity, and tombs of canonized archbishops, appearing on the plan, demonstrate the motive which led to this immense extension of the church both in length and area.

On the 5th of September, A.D. 1174—forty-four years after its solemn dedication in the presence of Henry I. of England, David of Scotland, and all the English bishops, A.D. 1130—not quite two months after Henry II. had done penance in the Cathedral for his complicity in the death of Becket, now a canonized saint, this new choir of Ernulf and Conrad was so seriously damaged by the disastrous fire, so vividly depicted in the narrative of Gervase, that it became necessary almost to rebuild it. The shattered walls were retained as far as possible, but they were considerably heightened, a vault of stone was thrown over the central alley, as a safeguard against future conflagrations, and it again received a considerable addition of length. The architect at first employed was a Frenchman, William of Sens. After he had been crippled by a fall from a scaffold, at the beginning of the fifth year of the work, another William, distinguished from his predecessor as "William the Englishman," "small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest," was called in, and by him the work was brought to a completion, A.D. 1184. The motive for this second elongation was to do honour to the

* We find the double transept also in its full development in the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Worcester, and in the Collegiate Church of Beverley. At York it seems to have formed part of the plan of Archbishop Roger's church; but its projection was small, and it has been virtually lost in the increased breadth of the aisles. It appears also in the ground-plans of Rochester, Hereford, and Wells, but its height is limited to the aisle range, and it is a mere appendage to the Lady Chapel in the last two instances. A transept at the extreme east is a remarkable feature at Durham and Fountains Abbey. A western transept formed by the bases of the western towers and appended chapels is found at Lincoln, Peterborough, Wells, and partially at Lichfield.

great saint with whose name Canterbury was to be henceforth inseparably connected.* At the extreme east end stood the chapel of the Holy Trinity, where Becket had celebrated his



Plan of Canterbury Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

* "Moreover," writes Gervase, 'he laid the foundation for the enlargement of the church at the eastern part, because a chapel of St. Thomas was to be built there."

first mass, and in the crypt beneath which his body was first interred. Thus, in Dean Stanley's words, the ruling idea of the rebuilders of the church was, not merely to secure the honourable collocation of the lesser and older relics of the church, but much more "to provide a fitting abode for their greater and more recent treasure, through which they were daily obtaining those vast pecuniary resources that alone could have enabled them to rebuild the church on its present splendid scale." *

The temptation is great to linger over this most interesting page in the architectural history of our Cathedrals, but it has been ably elucidated, both in its historical and constructional aspects, by the pens of such masters in their respective arts as Dean Stanley and Professor Willis, and I must hasten forwards.

The works of the two Williams were examples of what is known as the Transitional style, in which the sterner features of Norman architecture were gradually softening into the pure Gothic, in its first or "Early English" type. The earliest known work in which this exquisite style was adopted, without any admixture of the Norman influence, either in form, details, or mouldings, is St. Hugh's Choir at Lincoln. On his appointment to the See of Lincoln, A.D. 1186, Hugh found his church rent from top to bottom by an earthquake that had occurred the preceding year. This Church, as we have had occasion to remark, was a Norman one, built from the ground by Remigius, the first Norman Bishop, and completed at his death, A.D. 1092. It had passed through the usual vicissitudes of fire, and storm, and human violence, and had received the important addition of a stone vault and western towers from Bishop Alexander, A.D. 1123–1148. The new prelate, one of the very greatest and noblest of English Bishops of any age, at once determined to rebuild the shattered fabric. He called to his side an architect, Geoffrey of Noyers, who, in spite of his French name, "may well have been a thorough born and bred Englishman, with three or four generations of English parents before him," † and began where the rebuilder of mediæval churches always did begin, with the eastern arm. His plan

* Memorials of Canterbury, p. 187.
† Dimock, Lincoln Arch. Soc. Papers, 1867-8, p. 196.

embraced an aisled choir of four bays, an eastern transept, with two apsidal chapels in each arm, as at Canterbury, and a large *chevet* or apse, the foundations of which are known still to exist beneath the pavement, awaiting future disinterment and investigation. The whole is vaulted in stone. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into architectural details, and we must content ourselves with a reference to the recorded opinion of one of the first living authorities, Mr. Edmund Sharpe, that "the dignified simplicity of the whole of this work, the largeness of treatment, and the vigorous originality of conception with which the entire design has been conceived and executed, demand our highest admiration, and place this grand work clearly at the head, as well in point of time as of excellence, of all the works of the Lancet period."* St. Hugh's plan involved a considerable extension of the Norman choir, which appears to have been of very small dimensions, and aisleless, and provided a large increase of chapel room.

The earliest instance of the erection of chapels beyond the constructional choir in the Early English period is seen in the Lady Chapel erected by Bishop de Lucy, at Winchester, A.D. 1189–1204. This is a work of great value, both from its simplicity and beauty and well ascertained date, and as being an early example of what became so frequent afterwards—a Lady Chapel of considerable size and great architectural splendour, built at the extreme east end of a Cathedral or other great church. This, however, was by no means its universal, or, perhaps, its earliest position. A favourite place for the Lady Chapel was to the north of the choir, in close connection with the northern transept.† In the Norman Cathedral of Canterbury, the Lady Chapel had occupied the two easternmost bays of the north aisle of the nave. Prior Goldston, c. A.D. 1449–1468, shifted it further

* Lincoln Arch. Soc. Papers, *u. s.* p. 185.

† According to Mr. Buckler (Hist. of St. Alban's Abbey Church, p. 43), "in the general Norman plan of conventual churches the Lady Chapel seems usually to have occupied a lateral position, and not to have formed the eastern extremity of the building: its introduction in the latter position belongs to the design of churches of subsequent antiquity." The present Lady Chapel at St. Alban's was added to the east end of the choir by Abbot Hugh of Eversden, temp. Edw. II. The Lady Chapel at Bury occupied the angle between the north transept and the choir.

eastward, rebuilding, in the richest style of the day, with a fan vault, the apsidal chapel of St. Benedict, opening from the north transept or Martyrdom, famous in Becket's history as that to the altar of which the Monk Grim fled for refuge after his ineffectual defence of the Archbishop.* In the Cathedral of Bristol, the Lady Chapel of Early English date, assigned by Mr. Godwin to Abbot John, A.D. 1196–1215, occupies a similar position to the east of the north transept. The exquisitely beautiful Decorated Lady Chapel of Ely, founded A.D. 1321, stands in the same relative situation, as was the case with that of Peterborough of earlier date, A.D. 1278, a magnificent structure, demolished after the Restoration for the sake of the materials. Other situations may be mentioned. At Rochester, the Lady Chapel is a Perpendicular building, projecting most anomalously from the west side of the south transept. At Durham, c. A.D. 1175, where it is better known as the *Galilee*, it stands outside the western wall, at the extreme west end of the nave. At Oxford—the city wall precluding any extension eastward—the Lady Chapel was built towards the middle of the thirteenth century, as an additional aisle on the north side of the choir; and finally, at Ripon, it forms a Decorated upper story, known as the *Lady Loft*, added to the Norman chapter-house on the south side of the choir.

This architectural development of the Lady Chapel, contemporaneous with the commencement of the thirteenth century, together with the curious variety in its position, opens an enquiry of considerable interest in connection with the new direction taken by popular religious feeling at this epoch. Dean Stanley has correctly called attention to the fact that "the fashion which sprung up in most of the larger churches during the thirteenth century, of throwing out a still further east end" beyond the high altar, had its origin "in the eagerness to give a higher and holier than even the higher and holiest place to any great saint on whom popular devotion was fastened." "This notion," he continues, "happened to coincide, in point of time, with the burst of devotion towards the Virgin Mary which took place under the pontificate of Innocent III., during the first years of the thirteenth century; and therefore,

* Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, p. 76.

in all cases where there was no special local saint, the eastern end was dedicated to 'Our Lady,' and the chapel thus formed became 'the Lady Chapel.'* . . . But when the popular feeling of any city or neighbourhood had been directed to some indigenous object of devotion, this at once took the highest place, and the Lady Chapel, if any there were, was thrust down to a less honourable position;" or, as was not unfrequently the case, "Our Lady" and the local saint were permitted to occupy the place of peculiar dignity at the east end, in a kind of joint tenancy.

It is this precedence assigned to local objects of devotion by the religious bodies, who so well knew how to gauge the popular feeling, and whose zealous rivalry for the increased magnificence of their own churches led them to give the preference to that form of devotion which would be likely to bring in the largest amount of offerings, that enables us to explain the position of several of the Lady Chapels already noticed. At Canterbury, the shrine of St. Thomas; at Westminster, that of the Confessor; at Durham, that of St. Cuthbert; at Ely, that of St. Etheldreda; at Rochester, that of St. William of Perth; at Ripon, that of St. Wilfrid, were the most locally attractive; and the Chapel of Our Lady had to retire to a subordinate position. Of the arrangement whereby the eastern addition was shared by the Virgin and the local saint, the most notable instances are at Lichfield, where the altar of the Virgin was associated with that of St. Chad, with that of St. Hugh at Lincoln, of St. Osmund at Salisbury, and of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan at Worcester, and of St. William at York. In other cases, where there was no such local rivalry, the eastern chapel was devoted to the honour of "Our Lady" alone.†

This, to return from our digression, appears to have been the case at Winchester, as it was at Hereford, Salisbury, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Wells, and other churches. That of Westminster Abbey was added at the sole expense of the young king, Henry III., A.D. 1220-1240. In these instances,

* Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 188, 189.

† At Hereford the north transept was rebuilt on an extended scale to receive the shrine of St. Thomas of Cantelupe. May not the shrine of St. Oswald have afforded a similar motive, and provided resources for the erection of the disproportionately large south transept at Chester?

this elongation of the choir was formed by low eastern aisles, not rising to the full height of the building, and arranged with an especial view to the circulation of the processions round the church, as they visited in succession the altars in its eastern portion. In some other of our larger churches the eastern additions are of the full height of the choir itself, an arrangement which, if wanting in the picturesqueness created by the grouping of the pillars and arches of the lower aisles, is greatly superior in stately grandeur. The most remarkable instances of this arrangement are (to omit Canterbury, of which we have already spoken) Worcester, Beverley, Southwell, Ely, Lincoln, Lichfield, and York. Old St. Paul's, built on the same plan, seems to have gone beyond them all in size and magnificence. At Chichester, Chester, and Wells the choir has been elongated, maintaining the same elevation, and a lower Lady Chapel added beyond it. Of all these Lady Chapels, the palm for exquisite beauty, as well as for constructional ingenuity, must be assigned to that of Wells. Belonging to the best period of English art—for it was finished before A.D. 1326—it displays all the peculiar beauties of the Decorated style in the highest perfection. Its form, an elongated octagon, opening towards the west by arches rising from shafts of exquisite slenderness, is singularly picturesque, and it is united to the body of the church with consummate skill.

The outburst of devotion of which we have spoken as at the same time affording the motive and providing the means for the erection of the important works undertaken at the commencement and in the early part of the thirteenth century —"the great creative century of later English history"*—for the extension of the eastern limbs of our Cathedrals was, fortunately for Art, contemporaneous with the highest development of mediæval architecture, in which, among many other forms "the fresh exuberant life, the daring and devotion of the age, found one means of expression."

These eastern additions exhibit much that is loveliest in the architecture of our Cathedrals. However much we may find to deplore in the grovelling superstition to which the creation of the miraculous shrines of local saints pandered, we may at least

* Freeman, Hist. of Wells, p. 105.

feel thankful to those who were the official recipients of the offerings which bore witness to the earnest though mistaken faith of the devotees, that instead of employing them on aggrandizing or enriching themselves, they devoted them to so noble a purpose in the construction of architectural works which will never cease to command admiration and awaken delight. The earliest of these eastern enlargements we may notice is the exquisite Presbytery of Ely, one of the most beautiful examples of pure Early English, erected by Bishop Northwold, A.D. 1229–1254, as a more spacious receptacle for the honoured remains of St. Etheldreda. Bp. Northwold began his new work at the point where the Norman choir ended, preserving on the whole the levels of the earlier design. The result of this is, that the triforium space is rather higher and more important than is usual in Early English work where the architect was entirely unfettered. This is still more apparent in the three delicious bays, intervening between Bishop Northwold's work and the lantern, with which Bishop Hotham (A.D. 1345–1362) replaced the original Norman choir when crushed by the fall of the central tower, and it constitutes the only thing approaching to a defect in a design which may be safely regarded as the best example of the Decorated period to be found in England. Passing over, for want of space, many similar works which crowded this period of ceaseless joyous activity—such as the presbytery of Chichester, dedicated A.D. 1199; the choir and transepts of Rochester, chiefly erected from the offerings at St. William's wonder-working shrine, c. A.D. 1227; the presbytery, eastern transepts, and choir of Worcester, begun A.D. 1224, with "the profits of the tomb and shrine of St. Wulstan, whose reputation as a worker of miracles was manifestly increasing;" * the choir and presbytery of Wells; the eastern transept or chapel of nine altars, at Durham, A.D. 1242–1290—we must hasten on to the glorious presbytery or "angel choir" of Lincoln, one of the most perfect designs ever conceived or executed by man, the first complete specimen of the true Edwardian style of perfected English art. St. Hugh, who died A.D. 1200, was speedily canonized, and, according to the belief of the age, his tomb soon became

* Willis, Arch. Journ. xx. p. 99.

the scene of numerous miraculous cures. The usual result followed. The Cathedral was thronged with devotees earnestly seeking to obtain relief from their maladies, or to secure the saint's influence towards the accomplishment of their objects. The original place of Hugh's interment proved inconveniently straitened, and it became necessary to erect a larger and more appropriate resting-place for the hallowed remains. The scheme was taken in hand about the middle of the thirteenth century, A.D. 1255, and towards its close, A.D. 1280, the translation of the saint's body took place with solemn ceremonial, in the presence of Edward I., his queen, and children. The altar of the Virgin was set up against the east wall of the new building; but the shrine and altar of St. Hugh occupied the more prominent place in the mid-alley, behind the reredos, over which the feretory, containing the sacred body, towered conspicuously, so that to it not merely the gaze of the whole congregation but of the officiating priest himself, even as he stood before the high altar, might be constantly turned, and he might be led to pray for grace to emulate the piety, simplicity, laboriousness, and undaunted courage which characterized this pattern of a true Christian priest.

The reconstruction of the eastern arm of their Cathedrals afforded our English church-builders an opportunity for introducing the peculiar feature which, more than almost any other, distinguishes our ecclesiastical buildings from those of the Continent,—the rectangular east end, instead of the semicircular apse or polygonal *chevet*, surrounded by radiating chapels, which is so universal on the other side of the Channel. We hardly possess materials for accurately determining the form of the eastern termination of our churches before the Conquest; but the evidence we have seems to indicate that the square end was that adopted by preference when the builders were at liberty to follow their own tastes, free from foreign influence.* The Normans naturally employed the arrangement familiar to them in the churches erected by them in the country

* The Eastern termination of the very ancient church in Dover Castle, assigned by Mr. Bloxam to the middle of the seventh century, is square. The still more ancient church of Brixworth, of the fourth and fifth century, on the contrary, ended in an apse. But this evidently followed the plan of a Roman basilica.

of their new settlement; and as we have already mentioned, the semicircular apse, with or without a circumscribing aisle, is found in almost every instance. But even when Norman influence was predominant, the square east end was sometimes adopted. The most remarkable instance is the ancient Cathedral of Salisbury, completed by Bishop Osmund, A.D. 1091.* The Norman choirs of Hereford and St. Frideswide's, now Oxford Cathedral, also terminated rectangularly,† and the investigations of Prof. Willis at Ely in 1850‡ seem to have determined, that though the foundations of an apse were laid, the east end actually erected was square. But when the gradual welding of Saxons and Normans into one had created a new nation, determined to think and act for themselves, their independence of character was shown in the almost total abandonment of the apse, and the substitution of the flat east end, a termination so rarely met with in other countries.§ The reason sometimes assigned for this change, the transference of the bishop's throne, and the seats of his attendant presbyters — the *senatus episcopi* — from their primitive position in the apse to a distinct building—the chapter-house —seems of itself hardly sufficient to account for the almost

* This Cathedral, the foundations of which can still be traced in dry summers, was also remarkable for having an ante-church or Galilee of some length, at the west end. The transepts had double aisles, and were 150 ft. long: the whole church was 270 feet in length.

† At Hereford, beyond the square-ended choir, a group of three apsidal chapels seems to have projected eastwards.

‡ Prof. Willis's report is given in the Rev. D. J. Stewart's Architectural History of Ely Cathedral (Van Voorst, 1868), ch. ii. pp. 24–30. "The interpretation of these remains appears on the whole to be that the original plan of the great Norman apse was circular, that it had no aisle round its eastern extremity, and that, before it was completed, it was resolved to convert it into a square-ended presbytery, such as we now see at Oxford Cathedral, and St. Cross. . . . . The change of form was probably made because this square form better suited the quadruple group of shrines" (of St. Etheldreda and her three relatives) "than the semicircular one would have done." The examples of square terminations of Norman churches already given may be increased by those of Bristol, Romsey, Byland, Buildwas, and, according to Prof. Willis, Archbishop Roger's choir at York.

§ Westminster is a glorious exception. But it is one that proves the rule. Exquisitely beautiful as the effect of the polygonal *chevet* with its surrounding chapels must have been felt to be, the independent English mind seems to have resented the introduction of a feature so peculiarly Continental, and not even the influence of the Crown and Court could procure its general adoption. We have another example of exquisite loveliness in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield, and in a modified form in that of Wells. Large apses are also found at Tewkesbury (polygonal Early English, with perpendicular radiating chapels), Pershore, and St. Michael's, Coventry.

total discontinuance of the apsidal arrangement in England. It seems more probable that it was rather a matter of taste and local prejudice. The designs of our Early English churches show that the architects very early became enamoured of the power the new arrangement gave them of grouping windows together, and raising them tier above tier, so as to occupy nearly the whole face of a great gable wall, and the square east end afforded them an opportunity for the display of the system of that union of separate parts, and harmonious grouping of all, which constitutes the peculiar charm and glory of our English Cathedrals. However much we may be inclined to regret the loss of the intricate beauty, the picturesque mysteriousness of the half-seen, and the play of light and shade belonging to the apsidal arrangement as carried out at Amiens, we can hardly quarrel with a change of design which has given us the noble east windows of Lincoln, Carlisle, and York, and even the later example of Gloucester—"that glorious wall of painted glass that closes the vista"—and the different but not less beautiful combination of a flat east wall and aisled chapels which charms the eye at Wells or Salisbury, Hereford or Winchester.

A few words may here be fitly introduced in reference to the new ritual arrangements rendered necessary by the eastward prolongation of the choir. When the new presbytery was thrown out, the position of the altar, as a rule, was not shifted, but it remained in its accustomed place, consecrated by the devotion of centuries.* To remedy its isolation, as well as to mark the distinction between the ritual choir and the presbytery beyond, an arcaded screen, or reredos,† of rich tabernacle work was usually erected immediately behind the high altar and in contact with its eastern face. These screens were commonly double, a second screen being erected to the east, at the distance usually of a single bay, the enclosed space serving as the "feretory" or chapel containing the "feretra," or portable shrines of the saints who were the objects of local devotion, together with their small appended altars. A door in the

* Westminster Abbey was an exception. The altar was moved westwards by Henry III. to afford more space for the chapel containing the Confessor's shrine.

† Its English name was "The wall of the high altar." Willis, Canterbury, p. 103, note.

western screen on either side of the high altar gave access to this chapel. The most noteworthy examples of this arrangement now to be seen are those of Winchester, St. Alban's, and Westminster Abbey. In the two former instances the original intention of the arrangement has been to a great extent frustrated by the erection of a lofty and magnificent reredos, profusely decorated with canopied niches. Such a screen, however admirable in itself as a work of art, even now that its niches are denuded of their statues, must be regarded as an unwelcome intruder, from the abruptness with which it divides the Cathedral across its breadth, and the complete concealment not only of the shrines themselves, but also of the Lady Chapel and eastern aisles and all that lies beyond its lofty wall.* At Westminster the reredos has always been low enough for the Confessor's shrine to be seen over it. A similar arrangement with two screens exists, or did exist, at Canterbury, Chichester, York,† and Durham. At Durham the raised platform of the feretory of St. Cuthbert's shrine may still be seen extending into the great eastern transept or "Chapel of the Nine Altars," and was till lately enclosed by screen-work appropriate for its place, though debased in style, now unhappily removed, together with many other ancient landmarks, through a mistaken spirit of architectural purism. Behind the high reredos at Winchester, in the polygonal space corresponding to the Norman apse, a raised platform still exists that once sustained the shrine of St. Swithin, St. Birinus, and other sainted patrons of the Cathedral. At Lincoln, Llandaff, and elsewhere there was also a double screen; but the space between the two was narrow and served only as a vestry and treasury for the use of the officiating priests.

Another considerable change was not unfrequently contemporaneous with the prolongation of the constructional choir. This was the removal of the ritual choir from its primitive place beneath the lantern of the central tower into the eastern limb. The earliest instance of this transference is at Canter-

* A similar lofty screen, enriched with niches, exists at St. Alban's, St. Mary Overy's, Christchurch Twynham, Ottery St. Mary and Milton Abbas. That formerly existing at Peterborough, destroyed by the Puritans, was of the same type; "a stately skreen it was, well wrought, painted, and gilt which rose up as high almost as the roof of the church."—Gunton, p. 334.

† At York the shrine of St. William probably stood in the feretory between the two screens.

bury, on the completion of the new choir, or at least so much of it as would suffice for the reception of the altar and stalls, Easter-day A.D. 1180.* The example set at Canterbury was probably speedily followed at Rochester; in so many things a miniature copy of the metropolitan church; and subsequently, at dates varying with the erection of the new eastern portions, at Lincoln, Wells, Carlisle, Exeter, old St. Paul's, Lichfield, Ripon, and York. Before the Reformation the ritual choir at Durham terminated with the eastern arch of the tower; and in the western arch there was another screen supporting the rood, with two doors, and the Jesus altar between them. We have no means of determining the age of this arrangement. In some other Cathedrals and Abbey Churches, as Winchester, Westminster, St. Alban's, Gloucester, Chichester, Norwich, Chester, and St. Cross, the change was never made, and the ritual choir keeps its old place, in some instances extending one or more bays into the nave; while in other cases, as at Worcester, Ely, Peterborough, and Hereford, the transference has taken place in comparatively recent times. The separation between the ritual choir and the nave was in all cases made by a solid screen effectually cutting off the ministrants in the choir from the worshippers westwards. These screens were often double, consisting of two solid stone walls enclosing a space, sometimes groined in stone, as at Lincoln, Exeter, Norwich, St. Alban's, and formerly at Chichester, and supporting the *pulpitum* for reading the Gospel and Epistles on certain occasions, and in later times the lofty rood or crucifix with the attendant figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John. Chapels were not unfrequently erected in the westward face of these screens; either one in the centre dedicated to the Holy Cross, with two side doors, as originally at Canterbury and now at St. Alban's; or two, one on either side of a central door, as St. David's, and formerly at Gloucester.†

Having thus deduced the form and arrangements of our Cathedrals from the primitive model, and traced the origin and

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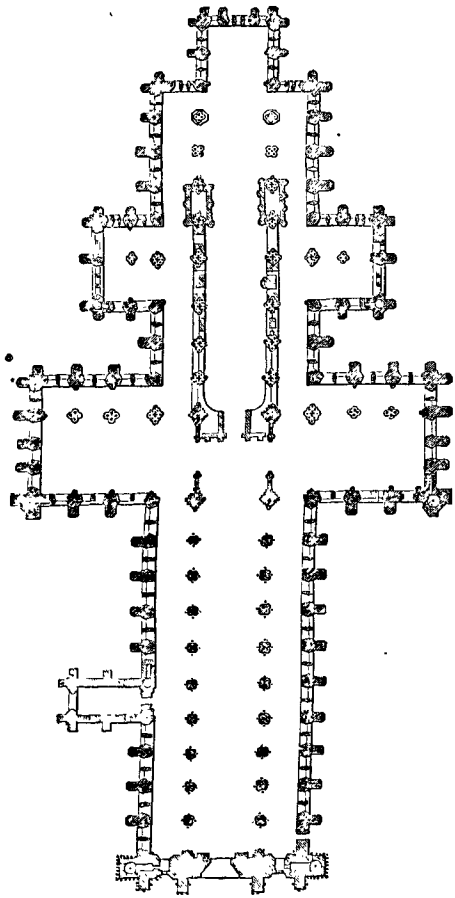
* For Gervase's graphic account of this ceremony, see Willis's Canterbury, pp. 53, 55.

† The plans given in Browne Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, put us in possession of many ancient arrangements of screens, stalls, &c., which have disappeared in the last century and a half, and will reward attentive study.

development of the various mutations to which they have been subjected, it will be interesting to compare the results at which we have arrived with those great churches, which in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries were either built on an entirely fresh site, or were altered with little reference to the ground-



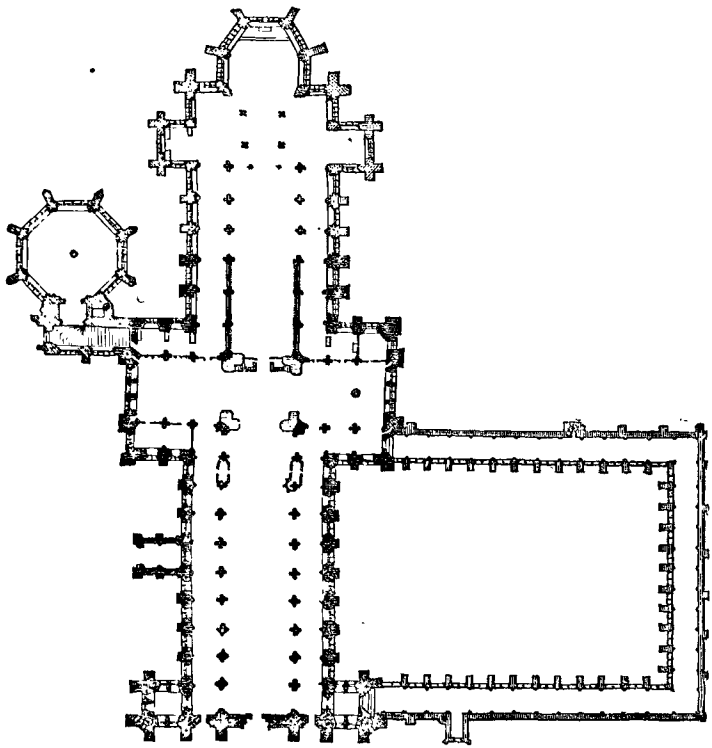
Plan of Salisbury Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

plan of the buildings which preceded them. In the Cathedral of Salisbury, begun A.D. 1220 and finished in all essential parts A.D. 1258, we are fortunate enough to possess a building raised on virgin soil in the early part of the thirteenth century, in the

erection of which the designer was completely untrammelled, so that we may regard it as a satisfactory evidence of what was then considered essential to the completeness of a Cathedral. A comparison of the ground-plan of Salisbury with that of Norwich or Peterborough exhibits the great modifications the Cathedral type had been subjected to, the course of which it has been the object of this paper to trace. In Salisbury there is no lingering trace of the apsidal form either in the main building or its appended chapels. Every eastern termination is strictly rectangular. The plan exhibits a well-developed double cross of harmonious proportions. The chief transept is of three projecting bays in each arm, the lesser transept of two; each with one aisle to the east forming chapels containing altars; ten in all. The constructional choir is of seven bays, including the opening of the lesser transept. Its eastern gable rests on three arches opening to the eastern aisles and Lady Chapel, between which originally stood the reredos, with the high altar in front of it. Immediately behind this a transverse aisle forms the procession path. Beyond this we have three eastern chapels, the lateral ones the continuation of the side aisles; that in the centre dedicated to "Our Lady," of three aisles, divided by Purbeck shafts of extreme tenuity, and projecting two bays beyond the side chapels. At the crossing rises a tower on four isolated piers, crowned with an exceedingly lofty and graceful spire. The nave is of ten bays; its length in admirable proportion with the other members of the building and the whole, and its outline most happily broken by a lofty north porch of considerable projection. The whole is an example of pure Early English, more free from later additions and alterations than is usual in English Cathedrals: exquisitely chaste, but not devoid of a certain "coldness and leanness" that renders it less satisfying than other inferior compositions.

In Wells, which, though one of the smallest, is not surpassed in beauty by any English Cathedral, we have a second example of the same Early Gothic style, though here we have later modifications both of plan and design, while Salisbury was built, as the French say, *d'un seul jet*. The proportions of the various members to one another is not so perfect as in the earlier Cathedral. The nave has the same number of bays, ten; but the transepts have only two bays in projection, and have double

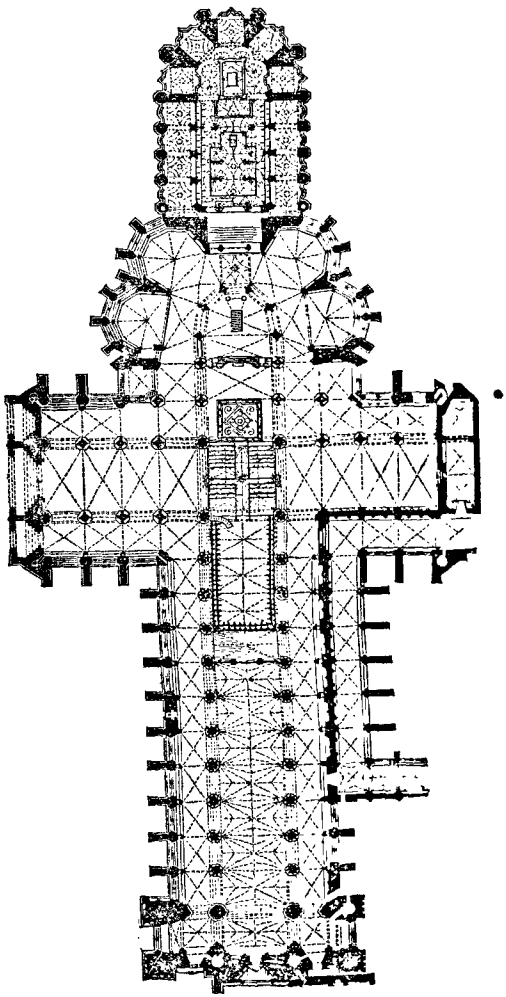
aisles. The choir of six bays ends square; the gable, as at Salisbury, supported on three arches, beyond which extend the narrow procession path, and perhaps the most exquisitely beautiful arrangement of chapels to be found in England. The Lady Chapel ends in a semioctagon, and there are chapels forming quasi transepts behind the choir. Two western towers, the



Plan of Wells Cathedral. Scale 100 ft to 1 in.

want of which is much felt at Salisbury, form a kind of transept, which gives breadth to the west front, which, though far from satisfactory in its outline, will always command admiration from the unrivalled series of sculptures with which it is decorated. The central tower, whose disproportioned weight has been nearly fatal to the fabric, is of stately outline.

The Abbey Church of Westminster, commenced A.D. 1245, and completed, as far as beyond the transepts, A.D. 1269, with all its complex beauty, in which it is exceeded by few Gothic



Plan of the Abbey Church at Westminster. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

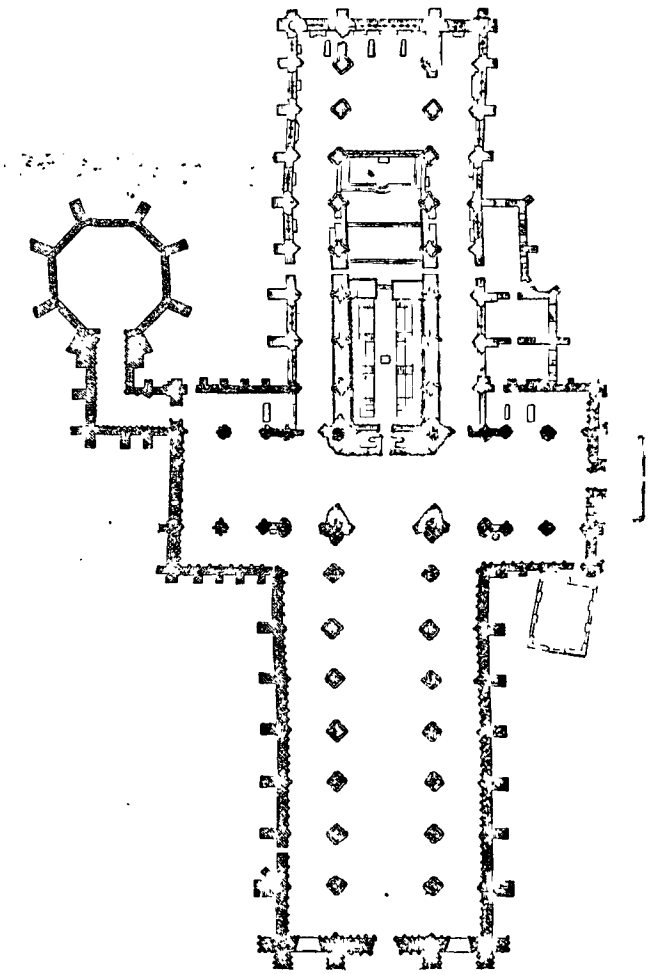
edifices, is too evidently an adaptation of Continental ideas to be regarded as a satisfactory type of an English church.

It is the only genuine example we possess in England of the *chevet*, with its radiating chapels, which are placed, two on each side, of a very uncommon plan.* The central apse has five sides; the constructional choir is short, having only three bays from the crossing; the transepts are of three bays in projection, and have double aisles; the nave, of twelve bays, including the western towers, is well proportioned in length, but in breadth it is rather inferior to the transepts; the deficiency, however, is hardly perceptible. There is no central tower; and if it be true that no tower was prepared for by the original designers, it possesses another point of correspondence with the great French Gothic churches, in which this feature is commonly wanting. The ratio between the breadth and height, which is 3 : 1, the average English churches being 2·36 : 1, and often descending as low as 2 : 1, is another French feature. Few, we think, will acquiesce in Mr. Fergusson's verdict that the height is in excess, and will rather wish that the proportion had been more commonly followed in English Cathedrals, the chief defect of which is the want of internal elevation.

The task proposed for this Essay is now all but completed. By the middle of the thirteenth century the English Cathedral type had experienced all its chief modifications in ground-plan and arrangement, and the later works only carried out the principles we have already seen in operation, as opportunity offered or necessity required. The measures of re-edification and alteration which we have noticed in connection with the eastern portions of our Cathedrals were gradually extended as the bounty of royal or episcopal benefactors, or the offerings of the faithful provided the necessary funds, to the less sacred divisions of the church; and transept and nave by degrees assumed the characteristics of the lighter and more beautiful styles into which the plain and massive Norman had blossomed out. At York, indeed, by a singular inversion of the usual order, the re-edification of the transepts preceded that of any other part of the Cathedral, and that of the nave came next, while

* The plan embraces four sides of an octagon with an angle, not a side, placed outermost. The area of the chapel occupies much more than half the polygon.

the choir, commonly the first portion to be rebuilt, was the last part to feel the influence of new architectural tastes and ritual exigencies. This singular fact is doubtless in great measure to



Plan of York Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

be accounted for by the large dimensions of Archbishop Roger's late Norman choir, which stretched eastwards 170 ft. from the crossing, and only wanted 80 ft. of the length of the present

magnificent eastern arm. The south transept was the first built, A.D. 1230–1241, and the north, famous for the group of "the Five Sisters," so grand in their dignified simplicity, a few years later, A.D. 1241–1260.* The nave—a typical example of the then newly-invented Decorated style—a work of magnificent dimensions, and almost perfect in its several parts, but disappointing as a whole, a structure almost as conspicuous for its defects as its excellencies, was spread over nearly thirty years, A.D. 1291–1324. The west front—the most elaborately ornamented and the best proportioned in England—succeeded, a few years later, A.D. 1338, but had to wait more than a century for the completion of the towers which crown it. The central lantern, which was evidently never finished, the design requiring angular pinnacles, was about fifty years earlier in construction, about A.D. 1405. The Lady Chapel and Presbytery, which with the choir constitute the most truly magnificent of all English Cathedral east ends, was commenced A.D. 1361 in Early Perpendicular, and completed about A.D. 1400. The splendid window, without doubt the grandest in general effect in England, though surpassed in gracefulness of tracery by its western sister, as well as by the still larger and finer Decorated east window of Carlisle, is, with the exception of that of Gloucester, the first in point of dimensions, 78 ft. high by 33 wide, and retains the stained glass with which it was originally filled, a glorious wall of transparent colour, on which the eye rests with admiration and delight.

Passing from the north to the extreme south-west, the small but singularly graceful Cathedral of Exeter demands our attention, as, with the exception of the anomalous transepts formed out of Norman towers, a specimen of the purest Early Decorated unmixed with any other style. Commenced at the extreme east end by Bishop Quivil, A.D. 1280, it was carried on continuously westward by succeeding prelates, and finished by Bishop Grandison, A.D. 1369. Small in dimensions, and deficient in height and, from the want of a central tower, in external unity, no Cathedral deserves more commendation for the extreme beauty and variety of its window-tracery, entirely of the geometrical type of Decorated, the varied loveliness

* These dates given by Willis are little more than approximative.

of its details, and the exquisite proportion of all its internal members. The long stretch of the vaulted roof, unbroken by tower arches, has few rivals for the combination of dignity and grace. Lichfield, in its faultless group of three spires and lovely eastern apse, c. A.D. 1300, presents another delightful work of the same period, of which the nave, diminutive but of exquisite design, recalling the matchless "angel choir" at Lincoln, is an earlier specimen, if it may not be more truly styled Early English, c. A.D. 1250.* Chester, which, in the early age of the English Church, contested with Lichfield the possession of the See of the great Mercian Bishoprick, has in its Cathedral nave—now happily rising from a state of almost inconceivable forlornness and decay, and receiving the vaulting it has been so long almost hopelessly waiting for—a plain but well-proportioned specimen of Decorated architecture, of which we see a truly magnificent example in the sorely-mutilated south transept, almost equal in dimensions to the nave, and of the earlier developments of the same exquisite style in the choir, the eastern portion of which was built to receive the shrine of St. Werburgh. The Decorated nave of the other great Mercian See of Worcester, an effective and dignified composition that has hardly obtained the notice it deserves, presents the remarkable singularity of having its two sides of different dates: the northern bays being the earlier. The central tower is of the same period, and ranks as one of the stateliest in England. We must not omit to mention the reconstruction of the choir and transepts of the Abbey Church of St. Augustine's, Bristol, now the Cathedral, under the auspices of Abbot Knowle, A.D. 1306–1322, and his immediate successors, calling attention to the singularity of the design, which sacrifices both triforium and clerestory to the increased elevation of the side aisles, and the ingenious but not very pleasing constructive devices by which the vaulting of all these divisions has been placed at the same height. The vast Decorated choir of old St. Paul's unhappily perished in the Great Fire of 1666. But we perceive, from Hollar's Views, that it must have been one of

* The "singular parallelism between the gradual architectural changes in the Cathedrals of Lichfield and York has been pointed out by Prof. Willis, Archæol. Journ., vol. xviii. p. 20.

the grandest and most magnificent works of the best period of English architectural art, probably surpassing all other Cathedrals in England in beauty of design and richness of decoration as it did in the magnitude of its proportions. The choir and presbytery which, according to the common usage, had been erected to receive the miraculous shrine of the sainted Bishop, Erkenwald, A.D. 1310, stretched in undiminished height and breadth to the unusual length of twelve bays. The vaulted vista, 690 ft. from the west door, closed with a glorious rose window surmounting ranges of arched lights rich in tracery. The same age of exuberant fertility gave us the octagon of Ely, A.D. 1323—"perhaps the most beautiful and original design to be found in the whole range of Gothic architecture"* —embodying an idea capable in skilful hands of the happiest development, but destined to lie dormant until revived by the genius of Wren in his classical reproduction of the Cathedral of St. Paul's.†

It is not given to anything human to continue in one stay; and when the climax of excellence is reached, the descent, though those who are engaged in it may fancy they are still advancing, is usually swift and certain. The introduction of the Perpendicular style, notwithstanding its great practical worth and the scope it afforded for gorgeousness of detail, marks the decay of English architecture; and its employment in our Cathedrals is in most instances to be regarded with regret. Not that we must allow the demerits of this style—as a means of producing the greatest possible effect with the least possible intellectual effort—to blind us to its real excellencies, or lead us to depreciate the truly magnificent structures erected during its sway. The Cathedrals in which the Perpendicular style has had the largest play are those of York, Gloucester, Winchester, and Canterbury. Of the former I have already spoken at length. The works at Gloucester and Winchester were adaptations of the newly invented style to

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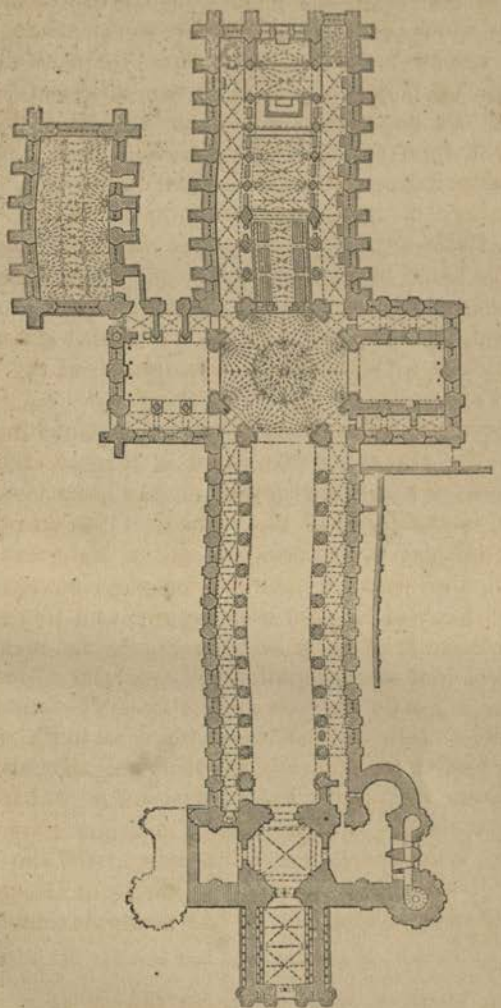
* Fergusson, Handbook, vol. i. p. 869.

† The great merit of this design is, that by cutting off the angles of the central square of the crossing, the architect obtains a considerably extended space in the most important part of the edifice; and by employing eight arches instead of the usual four, brings the side aisles into immediate connection with the main area of the building.

previously existing Norman buildings. In the former, A.D. 1329–1377, a network of panelling and tracery was merely drawn over the plain round arched work of the pier and tri-



Plan of Ely Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

forium range, on which a lofty clerestory was erected, and an intricate lierne vault stretched over the whole, producing a

gorgeous but confused result. The Perpendicular re-edification of the nave, commenced by Abbot Morwent, was most happily cut short by his death, A.D. 1437, when his ill-designed alterations had effected no more than the destruction of the western towers, and the ruin of two Norman bays. At Winchester, A.D. 1394–1410, the superior architectural genius of William of Wykeham, without destroying the pillars and walls of Walkelyn's church, by the bold but simple expedient of the removal of the triforium range, and throwing that and the aisle below into one, and partly re-chiselling partly re-casing the rude piers and mouldings, transformed the stern Norman nave into a glorious specimen of the style which seems to have sprung at once, at his touch, into the highest perfection of which it was capable. At Canterbury no such transformation was attempted. Perhaps the nave was in too ruinous a state to render it safe. The old nave of Lanfranc was taken down and the whole entirely rebuilt on the former foundations, in a light Perpendicular, wanting in the vigour of Winchester, but full of dignity and beauty.* The only Cathedral entirely due to Perpendicular architects is that of Manchester, founded A.D. 1422. This, however, is in all essentials a mere parish church of large dimensions, and does not call for remark.

The other works of the Perpendicular period in our Cathedrals are not of a nature to call for lengthened notice. The most important of them was the rebuilding of the clerestory and vaults of Norwich, after the destruction caused by the fall of the spire A.D. 1463. This work stretched over half a century,

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* In the naves both of Winchester and Canterbury it will be observed that the triforium has been completely lost as a distinct member of the architectural elevation, as it was also in the earlier example of the choir and presbytery of York, and the still earlier work of the nave. In all these instances the place formerly given to the triforium is occupied by a prolongation downwards of the mullions and compartments of the clerestory windows (of which we have earlier examples at St. David's and Southwell), the elevation being thus divided into two instead of three parts. In truth the triforium, as a distinct architectural member of a bay, belongs by right to the Norman style, which derived it from the early Roman basilicas, as at St. Agnes, and St. Laurence, and the Quattro Coronati, and passing by inheritance to the Early English style, was gradually disused by the Decorated architects, except when, as at Ely, they had to adapt the levels of their work to an already existing design, and dropped altogether in the Perpendicular period. The insignificance of the triforium in the purely Decorated Cathedral of Exeter shows how subordinate was its place in the mind of the designer.

and is singularly graceful in design and elaborate in ornament. One evil work perpetrated by the Perpendicular architects, of which almost every English cathedral and large church exhibits lamentable instances, was the erection of enormous windows at the western and other gable ends for the reception of stained glass. The new design involved in all cases the destruction of features of much interest and often of great beauty, and is seldom of sufficient merit to atone for the mischief it has caused. We may refer for examples to the west windows of Norwich, Lincoln, Rochester, Chester, St. Alban's, Southwell, and Tewkesbury. In every case we have to deplore the merciless way in which the vast trellised openings have been cut through the ancient front by the builders of the day without the smallest consideration for the work of architects so greatly their superiors in true taste and creative power. It would be mere waste of time and space to speak at any length of the minor works executed in our Cathedrals during this period of rapid production, but real decadence of art. The multitude of windows and doors, buttresses and pinnacles, shrines and chapels, screens and stall-work, altar and canopied tombs, and other less conspicuous features added during the fifteenth century is incalculable. But these additions were not such as to affect the arrangements of a Cathedral in any sensible degree, and may therefore without scruple be passed over without further mention.

Neither is it needful that I should dwell on the vicissitudes through which our Cathedrals passed during the next two centuries. While the Reformation reduced to ruins many of the noblest monuments of the architectural skill and piety of our forefathers, equalling and in some cases surpassing the glorious churches that still remain to us, and necessitated very considerable changes in the ritual arrangements of those that it spared, in correspondence with the alterations in the services celebrated within their walls, and involved a vast amount of destruction of minor architectural works—shrines, altars, tabernacles, and the like—under the title, often too well merited, of "monuments of superstition"—over which the archæologist and the lover of architecture must vainly sigh, coupled with a degree of irreverent desecration only too natural in the violent rebound of the national mind from an overweighted faith, it left the fabrics themselves and their chief arrangements on the whole undis-

turbed. Nor were any new features introduced. It was an age of demolition, not of construction. As the storm of the Reformation left them after its first outburst, such our Cathedrals remained during the turbulent period of religious change, and such, in the main, have they continued down to our own days. The ravages committed by the Puritan troops on the magnificent buildings over which they had undisturbed mastery during the civil troubles of the seventeenth century were, happily, chiefly confined to furniture and monuments, together with cloisters, chapter-houses, and other adjuncts, and seldom—Lichfield being a notable exception—had any seriously detrimental effect on the structures themselves; while the unspeakable brutalities and foulnesses with which in the name of religion, they polluted the temples hallowed by the worship of centuries, were such as the pious care of their rightful guardians could efface the stain of, though they could not blot out the shame of their memory.

The last century was one of religious apathy in our Cathedrals as everywhere else. The clumsy botchings perpetrated when any attempt at repair or restoration was made, and the utter ignorance of the true principles of Cathedral architecture they displayed,* excite a feeling of gratitude that so little was done by Deans and Chapters beyond keeping the walls and roofs in repair, and the fabric wind- and water-tight. And let it be said to their praise, this duty, no mean and unimportant one, was usually performed with commendable fidelity: so that the present century, on the whole, inherited the Cathedrals of which they were the guardians in a very fair state of preservation: often dreary, neglected, comfortless, and showing little of the beauty of holiness, but solid and sound. Nor when the fervour of restoration was first awakened was it always wisely directed. It was too often "a zeal not according to knowledge," the results of which we now vainly deplore. On the works of "Wyatt the destructive," at Lichfield, Salisbury, Durham, and, above all, at Hereford, I cannot now enter. Towers demolished, chapels pulled down, monuments divorced from the dead they comme-

* The works of Essex deserve to be excepted from the above sweeping condemnation. What was done by him at Ely and Lincoln and elsewhere, shows an acquaintance with the principles of Gothic architecture, and a knowledge of its details, far in advance of his day.

morate, screens torn down, decayed stone-work pared away to a clean surface, ornaments renewed in stucco, painted glass removed from the windows and shot as rubbish into the town ditch—these are some of the indications of the fatal march of this great "Cathedral restorer." Much of the duty which has fallen upon our own generation has been to endeavour at great cost and pains to undo some of his evil work—a task not always possible in the execution: so much, alas! has perished irreparably.

The restorations of our own days, designed with so much ability and carried out with so much zeal and such unsparing munificence, display not only a far more correct knowledge of the details of mediæval architecture, and a truer appreciation of the principles which guided it, but also, which is of far greater importance, a sense of the purposes for which a Cathedral exists, and the objects it may be made to serve. The reproach is rapidly passing away from the Church of England, that she has inherited buildings too vast for her shrunken form, erected for another form of devotion, and which she knows not how to use. With whatever justice such a charge could have once been brought against her, it is no longer one that can be urged with any truth. On every side we see fresh evidences that she *duly appreciates* the worth of the inheritance she possesses in her Cathedrals, and is resolved to avail herself of them to the full. The increased facilities offered for the reception of numerous congregations in the choirs of our larger Cathedrals, too vast to be treated as a whole;—the removal of high, close screens in those of more moderate dimensions, and the substitution of screens of light open-work, which, while preserving the distinction between the choir and the nave, the place of the ministers and the place of the laity, has practically thrown the two into one for purposes of worship;—the naves themselves, no longer regarded as the mere vestibules to the choirs, and left in stately emptiness, but employed for their primitive use as places for preaching *ad populum*, for the gathering of large evening congregations, and for the periodical assemblage of the church choirs of the diocese;—the transepts, chapter-houses, libraries, and other annexed buildings, serving as the meeting-places of sacred synods, diocesan conferences, and gatherings for promoting and carrying forward the work of the Church in the

diocese;—and even the side chapels, so long left in dreary uselessness, beginning to be recognized as the possible sacred centres of the various religious organizations so rapidly rising in our Cathedral cities—deaconesses, sisterhoods, nursing institutions, young men's associations, guilds, and the like, where, in strict subordination to the Dean and other Cathedral authorities, they might periodically meet, and go forth to their common work strengthened and refreshed by the sense of their brotherhood in Christ;—other chapels used for the periodical delivery of theological lectures;—the opportunities for worship no longer restricted to the ordinary Matins and Evensong, but embracing early celebrations of the Holy Communion;—bright, popular evening services with hymn-singing, and short morning services on week-days to hallow the first hours of a day of business or labour;—the great religious and social difficulties of the day treated by master-minds, united with the hallowing influences of prayer and praise beneath the spreading dome of her Cathedral in the midst of the teeming thousands of London;—the additional encouragement given to the long-lost habit of private devotion in our Cathedrals;—the growing impatience at the desecration of these houses of prayer and holy praise by the so-called Musical Festival, and the steps taken towards the revival of the "Oratorio" in the sense which its *name indicates*, and its author designed,* as the handmaid of prayer and the kindler of devotion:—all these are so many cheering evidences of healthy life auguring a prolonged existence of vigorous work, and indicate a sphere of usefulness so enlarged, and so adapted to the needs of a Diocese, that it may be truly said that if we had not Cathedrals it would be necessary to found them. Each year as it passes manifests with increasing power that Deans and Chapters are fully awake to the fact that Cathedrals have as true and as necessary a place in the Church system of the nineteenth century as in that of the thirteenth, and that they are resolved that the Cathedral shall once more become the religious centre of the Diocese, the warm heart throbbing with religious life, and diffusing strength, hope, and vitality to every parish within it, as well as the sacred home whose doors are ever open to receive all her children who may desire to come

* St. Philip Neri, at Rome, about A.D. 1585.

and worship within her walls, and join in the services of prayer and praise which have gone up thence unceasingly year after year and century after century, with all the stateliness and magnificence that dignified ceremonial, and music in its highest form and its most skilful execution can produce. A new and glorious future is now opening before our Cathedrals. May all their rulers and guardians have wisdom to perceive their opportunities and avail themselves of them before it is too late! Then will our Cathedrals be seen to be the sources and channels of advantages so great to the Church and religion of England that the mouth of the enemy will be stopped, and the hand of the spoiler stayed, and the voice will go up through the length and breadth of our land, "Destroy them not, for a blessing is in them."

Edmund Venables.

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